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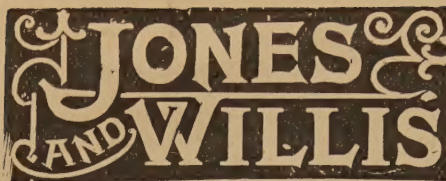
OCTOBER 1908.

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OCTOBER 1903

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N^o CXXXIII. OCTOBER 1908.

ART. I.—THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

1. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion.* Holden at Lambeth Palace, July 27 to August 5, 1908. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, with the Resolutions and Reports.* (London : S.P.C.K., 1908.)
2. *The Vision of Unity.* By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1908.)
3. *Address delivered at the Close of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,* May 29, 1908. By the Right Rev. the Moderator THEODORE MARSHALL, D.D. (Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood and Sons, 1908.)
4. *Australian Reunion.* Letters reprinted from the *Glasgow Herald* of July 3, 4, and 6, 1908. By JAMES COOPER, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow. (Privately printed.)

THERE can be no doubt that the Fifth Lambeth Conference has attracted a larger amount of attention than any of the previous ones. This is due partly to the increased size and importance of the gathering, partly to the influence of the Pan-Anglican Congress which succeeded in a very marked way in obtaining the ear of the Press, and partly, we believe, to the fact that in spite of the indifference to religion in many quarters, the questions which were discussed arouse great interest in the present day. The Encyclical Letter and the Resolutions were looked for with

considerable expectation, and while in many cases they have been received with approval, and even enthusiasm, there has been at the same time a sense of disappointment; for undoubtedly questions on which a decisive opinion would have been desirable have remained unanswered.

A distinguished Nonconformist divine, who had attended many of the meetings of the Pan-Anglican Congress, expressed his opinion of it to the following effect: He was very much impressed by the high general average of ability exhibited, by the spirit in which the subjects were approached, by the sustained interest and spiritual tone. He was equally impressed by the complete absence of any commanding personality, or any decisive ability. No doubt it is, perhaps, somewhat characteristic of a certain class of people to be always looking for 'outstanding personalities,' as they are called; but we believe that the criticism is well applied at the present day to the Church of England as a whole and the episcopal bench in particular. There is probably no body of men who within certain limits are more earnest, high-minded and able than the bishops of the English Church, but if we think of the Congresses of ten or twenty years ago we shall notice a great absence of names of real distinction. We remember being told at the time of the Conference of 1888 how great an impression was created by the authoritative knowledge which several of its members could display. The Congress was informed by a series of able speeches from bishops who were among the leading authorities in Europe. Without being a *laudator temporis acti*, one can hardly fail to recognize that while there are men of great ability, there are few men of the same calibre and reputation on the bench at the present time.

The Encyclical Letter, the Resolutions and Reports of the Committees which are before us all bear the impression of the character we should expect. They are in the fullest sense of the word (as they have been described) Christian documents. The consciousness of the responsibility of the Church towards the world is impressed on every page. The duty of Christian charity towards those outside us and

of wisdom in dealing with the affairs of the world is conspicuous. That it is the business of the Church, while bearing faithful witness to its Master, to live in charity with all men and to be 'wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove' is made abundantly clear. But somehow we seem to miss occasionally the intellectual power which would solve the difficult question, and the statesmanship which would know when it is necessary to give a clear, decisive, and definite judgement. In fact, we feel that it is true both of the Conference and of the Church as a whole that, as the Encyclical Letter says, 'to meet the demands of such a time as ours, to appropriate its blessings, and to repel its dangers, there is need of a far greater effort on the part of the Church to deal with the intellectual side of religion and life.'

Apart from this summary of the Resolutions of the Conference, the main point on which the Encyclical Letter insists is the duty of service as the great note of the Church.

'It was to be expected that the main trend and tenor of our deliberations would be taken, consciously or unconsciously, from that tendency of the Church's work, that conception of the Church's office, which is at the present time foremost in men's thoughts. By the word Church in this connexion we mean the whole Society of Christian men throughout the world. We shall speak later of what belongs more distinctively to our own Communion. Different aspects of the Church and of its duty have been prominent in different epochs of Christian history; and according to this difference there has been a variation in the main current of men's interest and debate concerning the problems of the Church's life: now one class of problems, now another, has seemed inevitable, absorbing, supremely important in all assemblies of Christian people. It is therefore a significant fact that, when we review the work of this Conference, and ask what aspect or idea of the Church has been predominant in our deliberations, we find that through them all, in the many fields over which they have travelled, there has been ever present the thought of the Church as ordained of God for the service of mankind. How the Church, in the name of Him to whom all men are dear, may best serve for the true welfare and happiness of all—this, through all the diversity of

detail, has been the constant theme of our study and discussion during the weeks which we have spent in the Conference and its Committees. Round this thought of Service the Resolutions which we have reached seem to take their place, grouped and correlated with a suggestive readiness of coherence.'

No one can doubt that this is the truth; in fact there is a danger perhaps that so conscious has the Church become of its duty of service that some of the other aspects of the Christian life, the development of character, worship, religious thought and contemplation, all that tends to raise and exalt the life of the individual and thereby fit him for the service of the Church, may sometimes be forgotten. For it is a fundamental law that we cannot raise people to a higher level than we have attained ourselves, and if the Church is to do its work in the world well it can only be by cultivating the inner side of the Christian life.

We will begin by considering side by side the work of two Committees, that upon 'The Faith and Modern Thought,' and that upon 'The Moral Witness of the Church in relation to—(a) the Democratic Ideal; (b) Social and Economic Questions.' Both alike shew the attitude which the Church of England takes towards the great modern movements of life and thought. There is to be no spirit of opposition to modern life in itself. The development of science, of philosophy and criticism is to be looked upon as part of the progressive life of men. It may need correcting and restraining, but in itself it is good. All the varied efforts for improvement of life are to be considered as directly or indirectly a working out of the Christian ideal. There may be mistakes, but the function of the Church is to correct and not to oppose, and it must correct in a spirit of sympathy.

The second Resolution of the Congress insists on the necessity of believing the historical facts stated in the Creeds as an essential part of the faith of the Church. As the Encyclical Letter says with great impressiveness:

'We turn first to the subject of our faith in relation to the thought of the present day. In humble reverence and unalterable devotion we bow before the mystery of the Trinity in

Unity, revealed indeed once for all, but revealing to each generation, and not least to our own, "new depths of the Divine." We bow before the mystery of God Incarnate in the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ, this, too, revealed once for all, but revealing to our times with novel clearness both God and man, and interpreting and confirming to us all that we have hoped or dreamed concerning union between them. We reaffirm the essential place of the historic facts stated by the Creeds in the structure of our faith. Many in our days have rashly denied the importance of these facts, but the ideas which these facts have in part generated and have always expressed, cannot be dissociated from them. Without the historic Creeds the ideas would evaporate into unsubstantial vagueness, and Christianity would be in danger of degenerating into a nerveless altruism.'

The Resolutions also commend to our notice the Report of the Committee, as shewing how 'the claim of our Lord Jesus Christ may under the characteristic conditions of our time best command allegiance.' The Chairman of the Committee was the Bishop of Southwark, and no one can fail to notice the characteristic thoughts of its Chairman in the Report of the Committee. There is perhaps a slight obscurity of utterance, but always a broad and deep sympathy with all that is best in modern thought and a firm conviction that in Christ is the essential truth which will illuminate that life. 'We wish to express our assurance that the fierce fire of modern criticism has only made it plainer that we have in the Gospels a definite and convincing picture of a unique personality.' 'We must set forth Christ in His simplicity as Him who lived the life of perfect goodness, taught the perfect nature of life and duty in love to God and man, died the death of perfect obedience and perfect self-sacrifice, and won perfect victory, of which His resurrection from the dead on the third day was the seal. It is here that we find the truth of all that has been said in so many forms about coming "back to Christ."'

We must venture upon one or two criticisms. We could wish that the valuable footnote on miracles on p. 73 had been inserted as part of the text. We do not quite know what is the function of a footnote in an Encyclical Letter, or even the Report of a Committee of this character.

We think it would have been better if, instead of a general and vague protest against the speculations which are put forward in the name of science, an attempt could have been made to define the limits within which science is supreme; for there is some danger of the old system continuing in which we try to build up our religious belief on gaps in scientific knowledge which sometimes cease to be gaps. And we cannot help being sorry that it should have been suggested that some of the newer discoveries of science should imply an argument against materialism.

‘From the side of Science itself the splendid thoroughness of analysis has, as it were, pierced through and behind matter, until that which seemed so solid and stable appears almost to vanish into some form of force of which we can hardly say that it is material at all, and which rather suggests what we only know in our own consciousness of life and will.’

Surely there is here a rather serious confusion of thought. By ‘the splendid thoroughness of analysis’ an allusion is probably made to recent discoveries, or rather speculations, as regards the physical constitution of the universe. But it is quite erroneous to think that such speculations do anything to disprove the materialistic conception of the world. Materialistic philosophers have always been divided into atomists and physicists, and these new discoveries would only confirm the opinions of the latter. No materialist except the vulgar man in the street thinks that the material world is just what it seems to us to be, and the analysis of all forms of life and motion and matter into a single principle of force would be to the philosophic materialist an apparent corroboration of his speculation.

Apart from this we welcome the presentment of the Resolution on ‘The Faith and Modern Thought’ as being both true to the historical principles of the Christian Faith, and leaving free scope for that development of scientific knowledge which we believe to be in the highest sense a religious function of life.

In relation to democratic movements both the Resolutions of the Conference and the Report of the Com-

mittee shew, as we should expect, real sympathy with all the problems of the day. We are bound to say that we think there is an element of one-sidedness: there is that over-anxiety to please the democratic powers of our own times, which is really nearly as wrong as the over-desire to please the monarchical powers of previous generations. Surely the teaching of nineteen centuries of Church history ought to have told us that it is the duty of the Church to keep as far as possible outside the conflicting struggles of political systems and parties. Monarchism, republicanism, socialism, democracy, imperialism, are merely different ways (which may vary according to the times) in which men may do service in the political world. We quite recognize that there are ideals of brotherhood underlying the democratic movement. We do not know that there is any more cause for the Conference to insist upon this than there might be to insist upon the lofty ideals which underlie many of the aspirations of imperialism. This bias becomes still more noticeable when we come to the two Resolutions with regard to Moral duties in relation to our Social life. They are entirely addressed to the wealthy. That the Church should insist upon the moral duties of owners of property is absolutely right: that the Church should insist upon the moral responsibilities of employers of labour is absolutely right; but why not a word about the moral responsibility of Labour? There are many who think that probably the greatest danger to society at the present time arises from the selfishness of the Labour movement. Whether democracy or aristocracy as a system of government be right it is not for the Church as a Church to say; but it is its duty to protest strongly against that selfish regard for the interests of particular classes and sections of the community which so often disfigures the Labour movement now as it has disfigured aristocracy in the past. Still more when the movement associates itself to an increasing extent with an entirely secularist and materialist conception of life.

We do not propose to dwell long on the question of the supply and training of candidates for Orders, as that matter will demand further consideration. But the work of this

Committee presents a feature which demands some notice. It had been prepared for by a special Report upon 'The Supply and Training of Candidates for Holy Orders,' made by a Committee appointed by the Archbishop. That creates a precedent which we think it would be well to follow. In the case of many of the Committees it is apparent on reading the Report that the work before them was far too great for the time at their disposal. Moreover, it is doubtful whether in all cases they had always the specialized knowledge requisite for dealing with the various problems. The Council of Trent did but develop a little further the laudable practice of the great Councils of the Church when it appointed committees of theologians and canonists to report on various questions where a specialized knowledge was concerned. It would, we venture to think, have been very wise if in various cases a special committee had been appointed a year or two beforehand to prepare a report, which might have been laid before the Committee at the Conference.

The Archbishop's Committee on the Supply and Training of Candidates for Orders did its work in many ways exceedingly well. But it is rather extraordinary that not a single person who could in any way be called a theologian should have been a member of it; and it is to that fact that we must ascribe a very serious defect, alike in the Report of the Archbishop's Committee, of the Conference Committee, and in the Resolutions—the *entire absence of reference to universities as the proper places for theological study*. Instead of recognizing that the building up of theological faculties in universities to train candidates for Orders should be the great aim of the Church wherever it is possible, the Conference says that 'all candidates should be required to receive at least one year of special training at a theological college, or under some recognized supervision'; and then, as a pious opinion, 'that teachers at theological colleges should guide the intellectual life of their students so as to encourage them to form convictions of their own on matters of faith and practice, and to think out for themselves the difficult problems involved in their ministry.' This, of course, represents the ideal of training for Orders;

but such an ideal will be best attained by the theological instruction being given in the university by a university faculty of theology, and not in a theological college. We cannot help thinking that the lack of many great scholars on the episcopal bench, that the fact that so many of the clergy in America are trained in a theological seminary, and that the great bulk of the missionary and Colonial bishops probably come from theological colleges, has vitiated the point of view of the Conference as a whole ; and that there is very great danger of the Church acquiescing too readily in the secular development of universities. Every place for training the candidates for Orders ought to be either a theological faculty of a university or a college closely affiliated to a university and sharing in its atmosphere ; and the great need at the present day is to restore the faculties at Oxford and Cambridge to their proper function in training candidates for Orders, a function which they can fulfil all the better because their aim is the promotion of theological learning.

In dealing with the vexed question of Divorce and Marriage, the Conference makes the following admission :

‘ We are aware that upon some of the questions which have been raised on the subject of marriage we are speaking with less decision than may be expected, and that there are questions with regard to which we fail altogether to give such guidance as in some parts of our Communion is gravely needed. In so far as we have thus failed, it must be remembered that the Conference is gathered from Churches differing not only in the conditions under which they have to deal with these questions, but also in the formal Canons, diocesan, provincial, or general, by which their action is ruled. In view of this fact we have come to the conclusion that these questions must be dealt with separately in the several Churches of our Communion. We have on this ground left without an adequate or general declaration of judgment the difficulty which has been constituted for the Church of England by recent legislation concerning marriage with a deceased wife’s sister.’

Now many will be dissatisfied that no decisive utterances on this point have been made.. There are, of course, many who would have been still more annoyed if a decisive

utterance had been made contrary to their opinions ; and there can be no doubt that the divisions of opinion at the Conference correspond with the divisions of opinion amongst the clergy and laity of the country. If the business of the Conference is to formularize the opinion of the Church, then it would not have been wise or right for the bishops to express by a narrow majority an opinion which would not be generally accepted. It is in relation to this Committee that we feel there was the greatest need for preparatory studies, and that something more was needed before a decision could be arrived at. It is obviously quite impossible to lay down general rules to be followed out in Churches where the conditions are so varied as they are at present ; but surely it was a case where what was desirable was that the Christian ideal of marriage should be emphasized. Anyone who reads the columns of the daily newspapers will feel that in this case it is the uncertainty about principle which is at the root of the difficulty, and what will be required before we can solve our difficulties is that we should have a clear idea of what the principles of the Church are. This applies both to divorce and to the question of prohibited degrees. The Conference reiterates, and that only by a small majority, its decision that it is undesirable that the marriage of the innocent party should be blessed in church ; but it really leaves the public, who come to this document for instruction, in doubt as to why it comes to that decision. Anyone, as we have said, who studies the newspapers, and the continued correspondence which has gone on, will notice that people are really in perplexity. They want to know what is the teaching of the Church on marriage generally, and on divorce and on prohibited degrees. They want to know the reasons for that decision. If it can be once made clear to the people that the Church has a definite and sound attitude, then the rest will gradually follow. It may well be that, owing to 'the hardness of people's hearts,' there may be a demand that the Church should acquiesce, to some extent, in a standard of practice which comes short of the complete ideal, but that does not interfere with its principles and ideals ; and it is these that

the Conference should have put before us, leaving the practical application to all the different Churches. But it is obvious that a great deal of careful learning and thought is necessary before it is possible to conciliate the varying opinions of different bodies of Churchmen.

In contrast with this we may note the Resolutions on the Report of the Committee on Religious Education. Here at least a *principle* has been struck out in the process of controversy, and has obtained acceptance; and therefore, in spite of the very different conditions of the problem in the different countries in which the Anglican Church works, resolutions can be passed which will have strong moral weight in relation to problems such as these. Granting the great principle of absolute religious equality; granting, again, that for the sake of efficiency it is desirable that the force and power of the State should be used in support of education, how best can religious liberty be secured and religious education be carried on? The answer is given in the thirteenth Resolution:

‘It is our duty as Christians to be alert to use in all schools every opportunity which the State affords us for training our children in the faith of their parents, and to obtain adequate opportunities for such teaching in countries where they do not already exist.’

The principle that religious teaching should be given in accordance with the wishes of the parents is fundamental and sound. The great objection which has been raised to religious teaching in the schools in the past has been the charge that it has often been used either avowedly or practically for the sake of proselytism, and if the forces of the State are to be placed behind the school, then the use of that school to proselytize becomes a violation of the principle of religious equality. That every Church has a right to make converts is, of course, a fundamental principle of religious life; but that a privileged position should be used to divorce children from parents is a violation of a natural right. If, however, the Anglican Church as a whole can emphasize wherever it has power its respect for the religious belief of the parents, if it can act upon it in every

way, it will be able to gain for itself a strong and right position.

In the case of Foreign Missions, again, the grasp of a right principle has made the Report of the Committee and the Resolutions of great value. Here, also, the conditions are very varied, and once more it is necessary sometimes to make allowance for the hardness of men's hearts. We have to recognize, for example, that in South Africa or in India, or in the United States of America, it is difficult for the Christian ideal to be carried out in its completeness. Where there are races at very different stages of civilization, as there are in those countries, and the difference of race is accentuated by political conditions and a remembrance of old animosities, it will require the labour of generations to bring men together within the fold of the Church. Every Church in each part of the world must do the best that it can; but it will be much strengthened in its work if it can always have before it the great principle laid down by Resolution 20 :

' All races and peoples, whatever their language or conditions, must be welded into one Body, and the organisation of different races living side by side into separate or independent Churches, on the basis of race or colour, is inconsistent with the vital and essential principle of the unity of Christ's Church.'

And the same may be said of Resolution 22 :

' Though it may be desirable to recognise, in some cases and under certain special circumstances, the episcopal care of a Bishop for his own countrymen within the jurisdiction of another Bishop of the Anglican Communion, yet the principle of one Bishop for one area is the ideal to be aimed at as the best means of securing the unity of all races and nations in the Holy Catholic Church.'

There is no one, for example, who knows the disastrous condition which prevails in the Eastern Levant and in the Turkish Empire generally but will recognize the need of emphasizing this principle. When there are seven Patriarchs of Antioch, and in almost every district are three, four, or five independent jurisdictions, the unity

of Christendom is terribly injured. There may be cases where it is not possible to carry out this principle completely. Often the Church in its history has to approximate to an ideal rather than to carry out that ideal; but it is a great gain to have had the principles laid down clearly and definitely, and it will be a very great help to the bishops in all parts of the world in carrying them out.

We hope to treat the whole question of 'Ministries of Healing' in a separate article, and must pass very briefly over the Reports of some other Committees with their accompanying Resolutions.

A Committee, with the Bishop of Exeter as chairman, was appointed to deal with the subject of Organization within the Anglican Communion. They presented a short but wise report. They

'record their conviction that no supremacy of the See of Canterbury over Primatial or Metropolitan Sees outside England is either practicable or desirable.'

And they also remind the bishops of the limitation of their authority:

'With reference to the limitations of authority of Diocesan Bishops, your Committee desire to affirm that the authority of the Diocesan Bishop as the Minister of the Church is not absolute but constitutional, being limited on the one hand by the Canons applicable to Province and Diocese, and on the other hand by the analogy of the ancient principle that he should act after taking counsel with his clergy and his people.'

They also recommend that no tribunal of reference should be constituted. The only organization recommended is a Central Consultative body (such a body having existed previously), for which the Resolutions propose a constitution, and the Encyclical Letter sums up the position as follows:

'If the Anglican Communion is to render that service to the varied needs of mankind to which the Church of our day is specially called, regard must be had both to the just freedom of its several parts and to the just claims of the whole Communion upon its every part.'

‘That freedom of local development which is a characteristic element in the inheritance which the Anglican Communion has received, and in the traditions of the English-speaking race, and which also belongs of right to the native churches which we have fostered, must have its balance and check in opportunities for mutual consultation and advice.’

It appears from a recent number of *The Churchman* (New York) that this very modest proposal has aroused the anger of some members of the American Church. In July we emphasized the necessity of avoiding any sort of organization which might lead to the forming of an Anglican *Curia*, and on the general principle we agree with the American point of view; but we venture to think that the criticism in question shews undue suspicion and fear. It is ridiculous to suggest that a Conference of which one-fourth of the members were American Bishops was treating the American Church with discourtesy or that a Conference which said that the see of Canterbury had no authority outside England was giving it a primacy. Cannot *The Churchman* believe that ‘consultation’ means ‘consultation’? And that consultations can take place by letter? And that some sort of machinery is necessary to enable the Lambeth Conference to be carried on? Moreover it is as discourteous as it is historically untrue to call the ‘English Parliament’ the sovereign representative body of the English Church.

Two important Committees must be mentioned briefly. The one appointed to consider certain questions regarding the administration of the Holy Communion laid down wise advice. With regard to the difficulty which has been raised as to the fear of infection in the use of the chalice, they have affirmed their conviction that it would be unnecessary to make, on the ground of that apprehension, any departure from the traditional custom of the Church; that the fears which have been aroused should be allayed by the wisdom of common-sense; and they declare that the Church cannot sanction for use any elements in the administration of the Holy Communion save bread and wine according to the institution of our Lord.

The Committee on the Prayer Book was timid. It was

unable to deal with the *Quicunque Vult* except by recommending a retranslation. As we have previously stated, that will not, we believe, meet any of the difficulties which exist. The translation in our Prayer Book represents, as we think, exactly what the framers of the Creed meant to say, and the various glosses put upon its language are unreal attempts to make it say what it does not mean to say. Various small suggestions were made by the Committee for the revision of the Prayer Book and the Lectionary. The latter, in the opinion of many people, is a very real need; but none of the suggestions were acted upon practically by the Conference. The only practical step proposed is that the Archbishop of Canterbury shall take counsel with such persons as he may see fit to consult 'with a view to the preparation of a Book containing special forms of service, which might be authorised by particular Bishops.' This we believe to be a step of considerable importance, and we can only express a hope that the Archbishop will consult amongst others skilled liturgiologists, that the Services constructed will be in accordance with the historical traditions of the Church and the needs of the present day, and that such new prayers as are drawn up may be couched in dignified and impressive language.

There remains one very important subject, that of Reunion, which we have left to the last, as did the Conference. There can be no doubt that this subject is more and more arousing public attention. 'The subject of Christian unity,' said the Dean of Westminster in his sermon before the Conference, 'is by far the most important that presents itself at the moment of history at which we have now arrived.' The divisions amongst Christians appear to many persons unnecessary, a scandal, and a bar to the progress of true religion. This is the case even in a country like our own, where divisions are of long standing, and may have been caused by different factors in our history and population. It is felt still more in newer countries, where old divisions are inherited and are entirely unmeaning. Up to the present no definite step has been taken, but it is quite possible that here or elsewhere there

may rise one of those great popular religious movements which sometimes spread over a country, and which raise the spiritual enthusiasm for breaking down barriers. It is necessary therefore that we should be prepared for such a movement, and that the principles upon which it should take place should be clearly fixed in our minds. At present public opinion can be guided ; when such a movement comes it will be largely out of control. What should be the principles upon which this reunion must take place ? There is naturally a feeling of impatience among many people at everything which seems to hamper it ; and anything therefore which is distinctive of any particular Church is immediately condemned. Above all, the tenets of Anglicanism are attacked with the greatest bitterness. What is the attitude of the Conference ? The Committee on Reunion was presided over by the Bishop of Salisbury, who by his learning and experience was eminently qualified for the position, and behind all the Resolutions we feel that there was a real knowledge of the history and conditions of the various questions. There was no intention of departing from the principles laid down in the Conference of 1888, and reaffirmed in 1897. The ideal we must aim at is that of one organic society with a common faith, a common worship, a common Bible, and one organization that is to be based on the historic episcopate. But, recognizing that no departure can be made from the one principle upon which reunion for all Christendom would be possible, the Conference aimed at shewing the greatest consideration and respect for the position of other Churches. We do not believe that this expresses any new attitude, and are surprised at the somewhat effusive praise which it has received. In our last number we shewed that this attitude of consideration for those outside of us had been characteristic of so strong a supporter of the claims of Episcopacy as Dr. Pusey. When, for example, the Committee says :

‘ Another remark may remove misunderstanding and make for peace. Anglican Churchmen must contend for a valid ministry as they understand it and regard themselves as absolutely bound to stipulate for this for themselves and for any

Communion of which they are members But it is no part of their duty, and therefore not their desire, to go further and pronounce negatively upon the value in God's sight of the ministry in other Communions,'

it is not saying more than Dr. Pusey had said before. When it speaks of the Presbyterian Churches it is not committing itself to a denial of its principles, but only shewing a right courtesy towards religious bodies which may not represent what we accept as Christian catholicity in its fulness, but whose members are true members of the Catholic Church, and whose work and ministry have abundant signs of Christian grace. We consider it necessary to make these remarks, as there are a certain number of writers at the present time who seem to think that this attitude is new, and who have invented a sort of rigid Anglican attitude which they have imposed upon all loyal maintainers of the Anglican position. The attitude of the Conference was sketched for it beforehand in the Dean of Westminster's great sermon :

'It is plain that we cannot abandon what we have hitherto declared to be the four essential characteristics of our own position—the holy scriptures, the two great creeds, the two great sacraments, and the historic episcopate. But we can and ought to recognise that where the first three are found, and where there is also an ordered ministry, guarded by the solemn imposition of hands, there our differences are not so much matters of faith as matters of discipline, and ought with humility and patience to be capable of adjustment. A fuller recognition on the one side of a charismatic ministry, which God has plainly owned and blessed ; a fuller recognition on the other side of the permanent value of an episcopacy which has long since ceased to be a prelacy ; a readiness on both sides to arrive at some temporary agreement which might ultimately issue in a common ministry, regular in the historic sense, though admitting the possibility of separate organisations and exempt jurisdictions—given such recognitions and such readiness, and what a prospect of reconciliation at no distant future opens out before us !'¹

Another criticism has been passed suggesting that the relations to the Oriental Churches are matters of purely

¹ *The Vision of Unity*, p. 13.

academic interest. This is a very parochial point of view, and like so many ideas which are considered practical is curiously the reverse. In all parts of the world we are now being brought into close touch with the Oriental Churches. In Cyprus we have to govern members of the Orthodox Eastern Church, and an article in the present number of this Review will shew how difficult that is; in Egypt the ancient Jacobite Church of the country demands our sympathy, and has hardly received just treatment at our hands. In Australia we are ministering to members of the Orthodox Eastern Church; in Japan our missions are side by side with a mission of the Russian Church. But still more important is this oecumenity of position in the United States of America. In that wonderful country there are representatives of almost every faith of the ancient world, living under new and strange conditions, divorced from the trammels of their own homes. There is a branch of the Orthodox Church; there are Jacobite and Nestorian and Armenian communities; there are large bodies of Lutherans from the Scandinavian countries as well as from Germany; there are Old Catholics. A far-seeing English bishop remarked to the present writer, at the time of the last Lambeth Conference, that it is probably in America that many of these problems will be solved; for in America there are all the elements present for representing Christianity in its completeness, and they are all free to develop upon their own lines. It is a subject of intense interest for the speculations of a reverent mind, what will be the religious organization which that great womb of the future Anglo-Saxon America will produce?

The Report is a lengthy one, covering the whole ground, but there are only two points as to which we can go into detail. The first is that dealing with the Moravian Church or the *Unitas Fratrum*. Here we are approaching the possibility of something practical, and the following Resolutions were passed by the Conference:

‘For the sake of unity, and as a particular expression of brotherly affection, we recommend that any official request of the *Unitas Fratrum* for the participation of Anglican Bishops

in the consecration of Bishops of the *Unitas* should be accepted, provided that

‘(i) Such Anglican Bishops should be not less than three in number, and should participate both in the saying of the Prayers of Consecration and in the laying on of hands, and that the rite itself is judged to be sufficient by the Bishops of the Church of our Communion to which the invited Bishops belong ;

‘(ii) The Synods of the *Unitas* (a) are able to give sufficient assurance of doctrinal agreement with ourselves in all essentials (as we believe that they will be willing and able to do) ; and (b) are willing to explain its position as that of a religious community or missionary body in close alliance with the Anglican Communion ; and (c) are willing to accord a due recognition to the position of our Bishops within Anglican dioceses and jurisdictions ; and (d) are willing to adopt a rule as to the administration of Confirmation more akin to our own.

‘After the conditions prescribed in the preceding Resolution have been complied with, and a Bishop has been consecrated in accordance with them, corresponding invitations from any Bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum* to an Anglican Bishop and his Presbyters to participate in the ordination of a Moravian Presbyter should be accepted, provided that the Anglican Bishop should participate both in the saying of the prayers of ordination and in the laying on of hands, and that the rite itself is judged to be sufficient by the Bishops of the Church of our Communion to which the invited Bishop belongs.

‘Any Bishop or Presbyter so consecrated or ordained should be free to minister in the Anglican Communion with due episcopal licence ; and, in the event of the above proposals—*i.e.* Resolutions 1 and 2—being accepted and acted upon by the Synods of the *Unitas*, during the period of transition some permission to preach in our churches might on special occasions be extended to Moravian Ministers by Bishops of our Communion.

‘We recommend that the Archbishop of Canterbury be respectfully requested to name a committee to communicate, as need arises, with representatives of the *Unitas*, and also to direct that the decisions of the present Conference be communicated to the *Secretarius Unitatis*.’

We do not think that anyone can complain that these Resolutions are not sufficiently rigid. We should have thought that, without any departure from Catholic principles, they might have been made a little more conciliatory.

We can only express a hope that the General Synod of the *Unitas* may see its way after due consideration to accept them. We believe that complete reunion even with such a small but interesting body of Christians would be a great gain to the Church of England, for the *Unitas* would remain as a missionary body within the Church, and it would become clear that the somewhat monotonous and rigid uniformity of the Anglican Communion was capable of being modified. We have said that the Church should be an organized corporate body, but within the organization as great a diversity of life should surely be looked for as there was, for example, within the Church of the Middle Ages. The ordinary parochial routine clearly needs to be supplemented by other forms of religious activity, and it would be a great loss to the life of the English nation if reunion, for example, with the Wesleyan body should destroy the Wesleyan Society.

The other Resolution which we shall quote is that dealing with Presbyterians :

‘The Conference receives with thankfulness and hope the Report of its Committee on Reunion and Intercommunion, and is of opinion that, in the welcome event of any project of reunion between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or other non-episcopal Church, which, while preserving the Faith in its integrity and purity, has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry, reaching the stage of responsible official negotiation, it might be possible to make an approach to reunion on the basis of consecrations to the episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610. Further, in the opinion of the Conference, it might be possible to authorise arrangements (for the period of transition towards full union on the basis of episcopal ordination) which would respect the convictions of those who had not received episcopal Orders, without involving any surrender on our part of the principle of Church order laid down in the Preface to the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer.’

It must be remarked that this is only thrown out as a suggestion of the lines upon which reunion may take place. And may we express a wish that the Committee had provided

a careful history of the relation of the Presbyterian Church to Episcopacy since its formation? The proposal is based upon a recommendation of Dr. Cooper, the well-known Presbyterian clergyman, who wrote a series of letters (which have been reprinted) to the *Glasgow Herald* on the subject. We do not believe that the time has yet come for anything being done, but we should like to correct a mistake which was made in the previous number of this Review. We commented rather unfavourably on the attitude which we understood that the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Marshall, had taken with regard to the Apostolic Succession, and stated our belief that the Presbyterian Church had always held that doctrine, although not believing that the Episcopal Succession was necessary. We are glad to think that our remarks were not justified. Two correspondents have drawn our attention to the fact that we were misled by an incorrect report, and we have received a copy of Dr. Marshall's own utterances, which, while quite loyal to Presbyterianism, suggest an obvious desire for some reunion in some form with the Church of England. What he seems to aim at is rather confederation on the basis of the National Church. We do not think that that is possible, or indeed desirable, and his attitude suggests that there will be some time to wait before anything is done in these islands, whilst we own that others are less inclined to be friendly. We saw, for example, some remarks by Dr. Lindsay the other day, in which he maintains that Episcopal Succession was irregular. Such an attitude is, of course, quite impossible for us, and we believe quite unjustified by history. It would imply that for at least fourteen centuries the whole Christian Church was without regular Orders—a position which is ridiculous.

But although we do not hope for much result at present at home, we may well believe that the attitude maintained in the foregoing Resolutions will be of great help in Australia and in other countries where the conditions are freer and the need for reunion is greater. There is a clear basis for doctrinal agreement, if the Calvinism of the Westminster

Confession is not insisted upon, and the way is laid down for reunion on the basis of the Episcopal Succession without any denial on the part of other communities of their spiritual positions.

We are glad to have the last three Resolutions as direction for our attitude during the coming period :

‘ Every opportunity should be welcomed of co-operation between members of different Communion in all matters pertaining to the social and moral welfare of the people.

‘ The members of the Anglican Communion should take pains to study the doctrines and position of those who are separated from it and to promote a cordial mutual understanding ; and, as a means towards this end, the Conference suggests that private meetings of ministers and laymen of different Christian bodies for common study, discussion, and prayer should be frequently held in convenient centres.

‘ The constituted authorities of the various Churches of the Anglican Communion should, as opportunity offers, arrange conferences with representatives of other Christian Churches, and meetings for common acknowledgment of the sins of division, and for intercession for the growth of unity.’

We certainly endorse the view that everything should be done by conferences, by giving opportunities for mutual explanations, and by historical research, to make it easier to bring together the different bodies of Christians, and we can pray for God’s blessing on our work.

With regard to other Communion outside this country, the Reports of the Conference are interesting and wise. The Conference received an address from the Archbishop of Upsala, giving clear grounds for believing that the approach of something like reunion with the Church of Sweden may be possible, and a committee is to be appointed to investigate the question. We are to send greetings to the National Synod of the Russian Church, and committees are to be appointed to deal with the various branches of Eastern Christianity, while arrangements are to be made for mutual work in places where two communities are brought into contact.

We have not much to say in conclusion. We have

expressed, and we wish to repeat, our gratitude for the work of the Conference. We have not felt it improper to criticize points which seemed to us deficient, and we hope that the great publicity which has been given to the Conference and its decisions, and the interest which has been displayed, may lead to work during the coming years which at the next Lambeth Conference may be fruitful of good results.

We will only quote in conclusion the following words, addressed to the Conference by the Dean of Westminster, which we may apply to ourselves as addressed to the Church as a whole :

‘ I know that it is urged that if we desire unity there is no corresponding desire in any of the communions to which I have referred ; that they are well contented to be separate from us, and that they have made no movement towards a corporate reunion. What if it be so ? Brethren and fathers, we have the vision, if they have it not as yet. We have the vision and we have been set by providence in the middle place, between the old and the new, for the very purpose of reconciliation. It is a heavenly, God-sent vision ; let us take heed that we be not disobedient to it. It is the will of God ; through us, or through others if we prove unworthy, it is destined to be realised. “ For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie ; though it tarry, wait for it ; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.” And so, fathers in God, we humbly commend you to the divine keeping as you enter upon your solemn deliberations, and we turn again to prayer and to the blessed sacrament of our unity in the body of the Christ.’¹

¹ We notice with surprise and extreme regret in further numbers of *The Churchman* received from New York that the discourtesy mentioned above (p. 14) extends to other parts of the Conference’s work. Criticism is legitimate enough, but not misrepresentation of the aims and position of the English Church. The American bishops can no doubt defend themselves.

ART. II.—EUCCHARISTIC DOCTRINE AND THE CANON OF THE ROMAN MASS.

1. *The Gelasian Sacramentary. Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae.* Edited with Introduction, Critical Notes, and Appendix. By H. A. WILSON, M.A., Fellow of S. Mary Magdalen College. (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 1894.)
2. *Missale ad usum Insignis et Praeclaræ Ecclesiae Sarum.* Labore ac studio FRANCISCI HENRICI DICKINSON, A.M., e Collegio SS. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses. (Burntisland : e Prelo de Pitsligo, 1861-1883.)
3. *Missale Romanum Mediolani*, 1474. Vol. I., Text. Edited by ROBERT LIPPE, LL.D., Chaplain of the Royal Asylum and Royal Infirmary at Aberdeen. (London, 1899.) Vol. II. A Collation with other Editions printed before 1570. By ROBERT LIPPE. Indices by H. A. WILSON, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (London, 1907.) (Volumes XVII. and XXXIII. of the Henry Bradshaw Society's Publications.)

And other Works.

THE subject of the Eucharistic doctrine taught or implied in the Canon of the Roman Mass is not only a matter of intense antiquarian interest to the student of history ; it is also a matter of much practical moment. For many centuries the Canon formed the central part of the central worship of the Western Church in general ; at this day it fills a similar place in the official prayers of the vast numbers of Western Christians in communion with the See of Rome. And, while it has often met with the denunciations of controversialists, and sometimes with the censure of those who were not controversialists in any but the best sense of that term, it has yet from time to time been declared to be exempt from doctrinal condemnation by theologians very far indeed from holding the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Two notable instances may be cited in Dr. Richard Field, who was Dean of Gloucester from 1610

until his death in 1616, and Dr. Henry Wace, the present Dean of Canterbury, both of them men of great and accurate learning, both of them strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism. In his treatise *Of the Church* Dr. Field maintained by lengthy and detailed arguments that 'the public liturgy used in the Church in the days of our fathers' was free from what he regarded as 'Romish error,' and that the use of the Canon of the Mass did not involve any 'part of Romish religion disliked by us.'¹ In his evidence, given in 1905, before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Dr. Wace asserted that 'it is impossible to say that the whole of the Roman Canon of the Mass is not warranted by the first six centuries'; and, though pressed both by the chairman, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, now Lord St. Aldwyn, and by Sir Lewis Dibdin, refused to depart from this position, adding, 'Merely to say that parts of the Canon of the Mass are used does not enable one to say at once that doctrines are being inculcated by them which are inconsistent with the first six centuries, or with the doctrine of the Church of England,' and 'It is impossible to make a hard and fast statement against the Roman Mass in that way.'² From the point of view of the ecclesiastical statesman as well as from that of the historian of doctrine, there is need for the careful consideration of a document the liturgical use of which is satisfactory to the expert theologians of the Church of Rome, which has been declared to be doctrinally innocent by so eminent and learned a post-Reformation Anglican divine as Dr. Field, and which is said to be not incompatible with the theology of the first six centuries by the living theologian and historian whose name is in a special manner associated with an appeal to that period.

I.

It may be convenient at the outset to explain the term 'Canon,' to define what is meant by the Canon of the Mass, and to glance briefly at its history.

¹ Appendix to Book III. (vol. ii. pp. 5-104, Cambridge edition, 1849).

² Questions 18042-18046 (vol. iii. p. 117).

(a) From its use to denote a measuring rod the word 'Canon' (κανών) came to be employed for that which is in accordance with rule. Thus, it describes the authoritative collection of books of Holy Scripture, and the official decisions of councils, and authorized lists of different kinds. In connexion with worship, besides the more general sense in which it has been used in the East for the arrangement of the Odes at the early morning service¹ and in the West for the rule of the canonical hours of the divine office,² it has been a distinctive term in the West, at any rate since the sixth century, for the most solemn part of the Eucharistic prayers.³ This restricted use of the term may have been due, as suggested by Walafrid Strabo in the ninth century, to this solemn 'action' being the 'consecration of the Sacrament in accordance with law and rule,'⁴ or to the formation of a fixed Latin form accepted as the rule at Rome in the latter part of the fourth century in distinction from earlier variable Latin forms and an unchanging Greek form,⁵ or to some undiscovered reason.

(b) When applied to the most solemn part of the Eucharistic prayers, the term 'Canon' has been used sometimes in a slightly wider and sometimes in a slightly more restricted sense. In the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, probably written in the seventh or eighth century, the Canon is said to begin with the *Sursum corda*, and the end of it is not

¹ See, e.g., Robertson, *The Divine Liturgies of John Chrysostom and Basil the Great*, p. 174; Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Church*, pp. 32, 577-591, 596.

² Cassian, *Inst.* II. ii. 1, vi. Cassian also uses the term for the rule of work in *Conl.* XVIII. vii. 6 and *Inst.* IV. xxii.; and for the rule of Lent in *Conl.* XXI. xxviii. 1. Cassian died c. 440 A.D.

³ See St. Gregory the Great, *Ep.* ix. 12, xiv. 2. Cf. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 234; Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, pp. 138, 148.

⁴ *De réb. eccl.* 22 (*P.L.* cxiv. 950), 'Actio dicitur ipse canon quia in eo sacramenta conficiuntur dominica, canon vero eadem actio nominatur quia in ea est legitima et regularis sacramentorum confectio.' Besides the names 'canon' and 'actio' here mentioned, St. Optatus calls the central Eucharistic prayer 'legitimum' in *De schism. Don.* ii. 12, and Pope Innocent I. calls it 'precem' in *Ep.* xxv. 5.

⁵ See Mr. Edward Burbidge in *The Guardian*, March 24, 1897.

marked.¹ In the *First Roman Order*, probably of the eighth century, it is described as beginning after the *Sanctus*, and as ending before the Lord's Prayer.² From the eighth century onwards it has probably been usually regarded as beginning after the *Sanctus*, although Amalarius of Metz, writing early in the ninth century, speaks of the *Te igitur*, which follows the *Sanctus*, as being 'in the midst of the Canon.'³ The present Roman Missal states that the Canon begins after the *Sanctus*, and implies that it ends before the Lord's Prayer.⁴ It has been suggested that the 'Canon of consecration' may be said to end before the Lord's Prayer, and the 'Canon of Communion' to continue to the close of the Mass.⁵

(c) The early history of the Canon of the Mass is unknown. St. Gregory the Great, who died in 604, speaks of it as having been composed by an unnamed 'learned man.'⁶ There is considerable probability that it was compiled in the time of Pope Damasus, who died in 384, out of older Latin prayers of a variable order.⁷ A passage in the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, the author of which was a contemporary of Pope Damasus, shews that the words 'the high priest Melchizedek' were in use in his time.⁸ The writer of the *Liber Pontificalis* at the beginning of the sixth century relates that St. Leo the Great, who died in 461, added some words to it,⁹ thus implying his belief that in the time of St. Leo there was a fixed and definite form. The following portion is quoted, to shew the words in which

¹ Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 234-236.

² Atchley, *op. cit.* p. 138.

³ *De eccl. off.* iv. 27 (P.L. cv. 1146).

⁴ See *Rubricae generales Missalis*, xii. xiii.; *Ritus servandus in celebratione Missae*, vii. viii. ix. Cf. Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* II. xi. 1, xiv. 5.

⁵ See Gühr, *Das heilige Messopfer*, p. 533.

⁶ *Ep.* ix. 12, 'scholasticus.'

⁷ See Mr. Edward Burbidge, *l.c.*

⁸ Pseudo-Augustine, *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* cix. 21, 'Christus autem vicarius patris est et antistes ac per hoc dicitur et sacerdos. Similiter et Spiritus Sanctus missus quasi antistes sacerdos appellatus est excelsi Dei, non summus, sicut nostri in oblatione praesumunt.'

⁹ *Lib. Pont.* xlvii. Leo I. 'Hic constituit ut intra actionem sacrificii diceretur sanctum sacrificium et cetera,' i.e. the words following 'summus sacerdos Melchisedech.'

the consecration is accomplished, by an unknown writer, probably of North Italy about the year 400 :—

‘Dicit sacerdos : Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem : quod figura est corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in caelum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus, gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens : Accipite, et edite ex hoc omnes ; hoc est enim corpus meum, quod pro multis confringetur. Similiter etiam calicem postquam coenatum est, pridie quam pateretur, accepit, respexit in caelum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus, gratias agens, benedixit, apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit, dicens : Accipite, et bibite ex hoc omnes ; hic est enim sanguis meus.’

‘Quotiescumque hoc feceritis, toties commemorationem mei facietis, donec iterum adveniam.’

‘Et sacerdos dicit : Ergo memores gloriosissimae eius passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis et in caelum ascensionis, offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum, et calicem vitae aeternae : et petimus et precamur ut

‘The priest says : Make to us this oblation approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable : which is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Who on the day before He suffered took bread in His holy hands, looked up to heaven to Thee, holy Father, almighty eternal God, giving thanks, blessed, brake, and gave what was broken to His Apostles and His disciples, saying, Take, and eat ye all of this ; for this is My body, which shall be broken for many. In like manner also after supper, on the day before He suffered, He took the cup, looked up to heaven to Thee, holy Father, almighty eternal God, giving thanks, blessed, gave to His Apostles and His disciples, saying, Take, and drink ye all of this ; for this is My blood.’

‘As often as ye shall do this, so often ye will make the commemoration of Me until I come again.’

‘And the priest says : Therefore mindful of His most glorious passion, and resurrection from the dead, and ascension into heaven, we offer to Thee this stainless offering, reasonable offering, bloodless offering, this holy bread, and the cup of eternal life ; and we beg and pray that Thou wilt

hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.' ¹

receive this oblation on Thy altar on high by the hands of Thy angels, as Thou didst deign to receive the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest Melchizedek offered to Thee.'

The Canon is given in a more complete form in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, which, as probably written in the seventh or eighth century, represents the use at Rome and elsewhere at that time and earlier.

'Incipit Canon Actionis. Sursum corda. Habemus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. Dignum et iustum est. Vere dignum et iustum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æternæ Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates, caeli caelorumque virtutes, ac beata Seraphin socia exultatione concelebrant: cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli

'The Canon of the Action begins. Lift up your hearts. We lift them up unto the Lord. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God. It is meet and right so to do. It is very meet and right, just and full of salvation, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, through Christ our Lord: through whom the angels praise Thy majesty, the dominations adore, the powers tremble, the heavens and the virtues of the heavens and the blessed Seraphin unite in celebrating with common joy. With whom also we pray that Thou wilt command our voices to be admitted, as we say with lowly

¹ Pseudo-Ambrose, *De Sacr.* iv. 21, 22, 26, 27. It is important to observe in this quotation from the Canon in use in North Italy about A.D. 400 (1) the sentence 'quod figura est corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi'; (2) the position of the reference to the 'altar on high' before that to Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek; (3) the plural number in 'angelorum tuorum.'

et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Osanna in excelsis. Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Iesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus et petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata. Inprimis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo papa nostro *Illo* et antistite nostro *Illo* episcopo. Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio; qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae, tibi reddunt vota sua, aeterno Deo, vero et vivo. Communicantes et memoriam venerantes, inprimis gloriosae semperque virginis Mariae genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum, . . .¹ et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed

acknowledgment, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest. Therefore, most merciful Father, we humbly pray and beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, that Thou mayest accept and bless these offerings, these gifts, these holy spotless sacrifices, which we offer to Thee in the first place for Thy holy Catholic Church, that Thou mayest deign to keep it in peace and guard and unite and govern it throughout the world, and also for Thy servant our Pope N. and our Bishop N. Remember, Lord, Thy servants and handmaids and all here present, whose faith is perceived by Thee, and their devotion known to Thee, who offer to Thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and for all their own, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, who pay their vows to Thee, the eternal, true, and living God. Joining in communion with, and reverencing the memory of, in the first place the glorious and ever Virgin Mary, the Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, and also Thy blessed Apostles and martyrs . . .¹ and all Thy saints, to

¹ The list of the names of the saints commemorated is here omitted.

et cunctae familiae tuae, quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in caelum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, dedit discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum. Simili modo, posteaquam coenatum est, accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, dedit discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes : hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et æterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Haec quotiescumque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis. Unde et memores sumus, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi Filii

whose merits and prayers do Thou grant that in all things we may be defended by the help of Thy protection. Through Christ our Lord. We therefore beseech Thee, O Lord, graciously to accept this oblation of our service, and also of Thy whole family, and do Thou order our days in Thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal condemnation, and to be numbered in the flock of Thy elect. Through Christ our Lord. Which oblation do Thou, O God, we beseech Thee, deign to make in all respects blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may become to us the body and blood of Thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord God. Who on the day before He suffered took bread into His holy and venerable hands, and raised His eyes to heaven to Thee, the God, His almighty Father, giving thanks to Thee, and blessed, brake, gave to His disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this. For this is My body. Likewise after supper taking also this excellent cup into His holy and venerable hands, again giving thanks to Thee, He blessed, gave to His disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of it ; for this is the cup of My blood of the new and eternal covenant, the mystery

tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatae passionis necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelis gloriosae ascensionis: offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae. Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam. Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

of faith, which will be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. As often as ye shall do this, ye shall do it for a memorial of Me. Wherefore, O Lord, we Thy servants, and also Thy holy people, are mindful of the so blessed passion of Thy Son Christ our Lord God, and also of His resurrection from the dead, and also of His glorious ascension into heaven: we offer unto Thy excellent majesty of Thy gifts and bounties a pure offering, a holy offering, a stainless offering, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation. Upon which mayest Thou deign to look with favourable and gracious countenance, and to accept, as Thou didst deign to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which Thy high priest Melchizedek offered to Thee, a holy sacrifice, a stainless offering. Humbly we beseech Thee, almighty God, command that these be borne by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thy altar on high in the presence of Thy divine majesty, that all we who from this participation of the altar receive the most holy body and blood of Thy Son may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

'Nobis quoque peccatoribus, famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam societatis donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus, cum . . .¹ et cum omnibus sanctis tuis, intra quorum nos consortium non aestimator meriti, sed veniae, quaesumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem haec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et praestas nobis. Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

'To us sinners also, Thy servants, trusting in the multitude of Thy mercies, mayest Thou deign to grant some share in the fellowship with Thy holy Apostles and martyrs, with . . .¹ and with all Thy saints, into whose company admit us, we beseech Thee, not weighing our merits but pardoning our offences. Through Christ our Lord. Through whom all these good things, O Lord, Thou dost ever create, sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow upon us. Through Him, and with Him, and in Him is to Thee, God the Father almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.'

The text of the Canon of the *Gelasian Sacramentary* as printed above is taken from the Vatican MS. as edited by Mr. H. A. Wilson.² There is an important addition between 'omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen' and 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus' in the Rheinau MS., which there inserts:—

'Memento etiam, Domine, et eorum nomina qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum

'Remember also, O Lord, the names of those who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ,

¹ The list of the names of the saints commemorated is here omitted.

² *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, pp. 234-236. Other readings are given by Mr. Wilson in his notes on pp. 237-240. For a minute discussion of the text see Mr. Edmund Bishop's article in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1903, pp. 555-577.

refrigerii, lucis et pacis ut grant, we beseech, a place of
indulgeas, deprecamur. Per refreshment, light, and peace.
Christum Dominum nos- Through Christ our Lord.
trum.' ¹

The Canon of the Roman Mass as used during the Middle Ages and in the Church of Rome at the present time is substantially the same as the *Gelasian* text with the addition just quoted. Representative examples may be seen in, for instance, the various printed editions of the Sarum Missal; the first, as is believed, printed edition of the Roman Missal published at Milan in 1474, the only known copy of which is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan²; and the ordinary copies of the Roman Missal.

II.

As a preliminary to the discussion of the Eucharistic doctrine of the Canon of the Mass, it will be well to glance briefly at the main lines of Eucharistic teaching in the East and the West during the fourth and fifth and sixth centuries, the period to which in the West the existence and use of the Canon is to be ascribed.

In the ordinary language of this period it was customary to speak of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, and of the consecrated elements as the body and blood of Christ. For instance, in the *Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered at Jerusalem in the year 347, the Eucharist is described as 'the spiritual sacrifice,' the 'sacrifice of propitiation,' 'the holy and most awful sacrifice.'³ In the eighteenth canon of the Council of Nicaea in 325 it is said of presbyters, as distinct from deacons, that they 'offer.' In the same canon that which is administered is spoken of

¹ Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 239.

² Reprinted by the Henry Bradshaw Society in the edition mentioned at the head of this article.

³ xxiii. 8, 9, Εἴτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης . . . καὶ ταύτην προσφέρομεν τὴν θυσίαν . . . μεγίστην ὧν σιν πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας.

as 'the body of Christ.' In the *Encyclical Letter* of the Council of Alexandria of 339, as quoted by St. Athanasius, that which is administered is called 'the blood of Christ.'¹

As they tried to form a mental impression of the meaning of this ordinary phraseology, different writers evidently had recourse to different lines of thought, and not infrequently different lines of thought are found in the same writers. The elements are sometimes spoken of as the 'figures' or 'symbols' or 'image' or 'likeness' of the body and blood of Christ,² a method of speech in connexion with which it is well to remember that the meaning of such words as 'symbol' in the early Church was much more in the direction of signifying that which is what it denotes than of the connotation of mere representation which the words now usually suggest to Northern minds.³ Another idea found as an attempted explanation of Eucharistic doctrine is that of the heightened efficacy of the elements through the consecration of them,⁴ an idea held and emphasized by writers who also say that at consecration the bread and the wine become the body and the blood of Christ.⁵ Some of the same teachers, again, as well as others in different parts of the Church, lay stress on the spiritual character of the whole transaction of the Eucharist,⁶ and the spiritual nature of the body of Christ since His resurrection,⁷ and the analogy between the Eucharistic food being the body of Christ and the state of the baptized as His mystical body.⁸ In a somewhat different department of the subject, there are writers who lay great stress on the abiding reality of the earthly elements of bread and

¹ St. Athan. *Ap. c. Ar.* II.

² *E.g.* St. Augustine, *In Ps. iii. Enar.* I.

³ See Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. 144, 145 (English translation). The writer hopes to be able to justify at length the statement made above in a forthcoming book on the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist.

⁴ *E.g.* St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* xxi. 3.

⁵ *E.g.* St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* xix. 7.

⁶ *E.g.* St. Augustine, *In Ev. Ioan. Tract.* xxvii. 11.

⁷ *E.g.* St. Jerome, *Comm. in Eph.* on i. 7.

⁸ *E.g.* St. Augustine, *Serm.* ccxxvii.

wine as corresponding in the Eucharist to the human nature of our Lord in His incarnate life¹; and there are others who tend strongly towards a view of the conversion of the elements which, though approached by means of a different philosophy, does not differ theologically from the later doctrine of Transubstantiation.² All these attempts at explanations are signs that the active minds of the Church's theologians were at work on the question how they were to present to themselves and how they were to express in teaching the generally admitted fact that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ.

In regard to the Eucharistic sacrifice there is less attempt at explanation. It is viewed as a commemoration of the passion and death of Christ,³ and also as a commemoration of His resurrection and ascension, and again as a means of union with His abiding sacrifice in heaven.⁴ It culminates in Communion,⁵ and in it is the dedication by Christians of themselves to God.⁶

The moment of consecration is associated with the invocation of God the Word,⁷ or with the invocation of God the Holy Ghost,⁸ or with the invocation of the Holy Trinity,⁹ or with the recital of the words recorded to have been used by our Lord at the institution.¹⁰

III.

The Canon speaks of the Eucharistic gift as the body and blood of Christ. Prayer is made that the oblation offered to God 'may become to us the body and blood of Thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord'; in the recital of the institution, evidently associating the action

¹ *E.g.* Theodoret, *Dial.* ii.

² *E.g.* St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Orat. Cat.* 37.

³ *E.g.* St. Chrys. *De coem. et cruc.* 3.

⁴ *E.g.* Pseudo-Ambrose, *De Sacr.* iv. 27.

⁵ *E.g.* St. Chrys. *De bapt. Chr.* 4.

⁶ *E.g.* St. Aug. *De civ. Dei.* xxii. 10.

⁷ *E.g.* Serapion, I.

⁸ *E.g.* St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* xxi. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.* xix. 7.

¹⁰ *E.g.* Pseudo-Ambrose, *De Sacr.* iv. 21-23.

of the priest in the Mass with that of our Lord at the Last Supper, the words are repeated, 'This is My body,' 'This is the cup of My blood of the new and eternal covenant, the mystery of faith, which will be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins'; the communicants are described as 'all we who from this participation of the altar shall receive the most holy body and blood of Thy Son.' Moreover, it is the elements, and not simply something undefined connected with the rite as a whole, which are spoken of as the body and blood of Christ. But there is nothing to connect the Canon with one or another of the lines of explanation which were being suggested at the time of its compilation. The fragment of the Canon quoted in North Italy about the year 400 referred to the elements before consecration as the 'figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ'; but even that use of a particular phraseology has disappeared in the complete form of the Canon which we find in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*. The words 'holy bread of eternal life,' which some have thought to be an indication of belief that the substance of bread remains in the consecrated species, were probably adopted without any consideration of any such question and with reference to our Lord as 'the Bread of life.' The words 'Through whom all these good things, O Lord, Thou dost ever create, sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow upon us,' used after the consecration, if referred to the Sacrament, may indeed suggest an emphasis on the abiding reality of the earthly gifts; but there is reason for the opinion that these words were originally part of a blessing of the fruits of the earth which took place in the Mass at this point.¹ Apart from them, there is nothing in the Canon which would be more congenial to those who, by laying stress on the analogy of the Incarnation, were emphasizing the continuance of the bread and wine after consecration, or to those who were employing the idea of the conversion of the elements in an opposite direction. There is nothing, moreover, which approximates to any carnal notion of a presence of the body and blood of Christ in their natural

¹ See Duchesne, *Origines du culte Chrétien*, pp. 174, 175.

state as before His resurrection, and perhaps only the prayer for the uplifting of the earthly offering to the 'altar on high' which tends towards a repudiation of such a view. So also as regards the supreme moment of consecration, apart from ceremonial acts of later introduction, it would be possible for the officiant and the worshippers to connect the climax with the recital of the words of institution or with the prayer for the bearing of the oblations to the altar on high which corresponds to the invocation of God the Word, or of God the Holy Ghost, or of the Holy Trinity.

IV.

Throughout the Canon the Eucharist is described as a sacrifice. The oblations are called 'these holy spotless sacrifices,' 'this sacrifice of praise,' 'a pure offering, a holy offering, a stainless offering'; and they are compared with the 'gifts' of Abel, the 'sacrifice' of Abraham, and the 'holy sacrifice, the stainless offering,' of Melchizedek. At the beginning, the earthly gifts, already presented to God, are set out before Him as that which His people give, and He is entreated to accept and bless. As the rite proceeds, commemoration is made of the incarnate life of the Lord, and in particular of the great moments of sacrifice in it as there is the recital of the institution of the Eucharist and the remembrance before God the Father of the passion and the resurrection and the ascension. There is the oblation of the elements which have been brought under the words of Christ, 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood,' as the 'pure offering,' the 'holy offering,' the 'stainless offering,' which are 'the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation.' There is the presentation of this oblation as it is the fulfilment in mystery of the 'gifts' of Abel—the type of the dedication of life—the 'sacrifice' of Abraham—the type of the offering unto death—and the 'holy sacrifice' of Melchizedek—the type of the heavenly intercession. There is the prayer that in the annihilation of space which belongs to spiritual actions the earthly offering may form part of the heavenly service at the 'altar on

high' in the presence of God.¹ In this sacramental presentation of the incarnate life of the Lord there is gathered also the presentation of the life of the Church. There is the commemoration of the saints, of those who fill the high places in the family of God, for the help of whose prayers and the advocacy of whose holiness the Church on earth confidently looks. There is the intercession for the living, for the Holy Catholic Church, for its leaders, for all its members, in particular for those who are specially commemorated or who at the moment are joining in the offering of the sacrifice. There is the intercession for the faithful departed, for those 'who have gone before with the sign of faith and sleep in the sleep of peace,' that they may be granted 'refreshment and light and peace.' There is the oblation of the worshippers as they pray for the ordering of their days in the peace of God, their deliverance from eternal condemnation, and their place in the flock of God's chosen ones; and that through the reception of the body and blood of Christ they may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace; and that in the multitude of the mercies of God and through His pardoning their offences they may have part in the company of the saints. Thus are combined in the sacrificial presentation those different elements which may be discerned in the unsystematized theology of the fourth and fifth and sixth centuries, the commemoration of Christ with special reference to His passion and resurrection and ascension, the uniting with His heavenly offering, and the oblation of the Church. And, as in regard to the Eucharistic presence the Canon lends itself to be used by those who are tending towards either one or another explanation how that presence comes to be, so it is content with these great facts and realities of sacrifice and does not bind those who use it to one or another specific definition of what it is that sacrifice requires and in what it consists.

¹ The word 'haec' probably refers to the whole act of offering, though it has been explained also specially of the oblations and of the prayers. The 'holy angel' is probably our Lord, as the Great Angel of the Covenant: the phrase has also been thought to denote the Holy Ghost, or to be in the singular for the plura for the created angels.

V.

The prayers which, if the word Canon is taken in the more restricted sense, follow it, and form part of it in the wider sense, are given in the modern Roman Missal in the following form :—

‘Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere: Pater noster . . . a malo. Amen. Libera nos, quaesumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis, praeteritis, praesentibus, et futuris: et intercedente beata et gloriosa semper Virgine Dei genitrice Maria, cum beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andrea et omnibus sanctis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiae tuae adiuti et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

‘Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

‘Haec commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam aeternam. Amen.

‘Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Agnus

‘Let us pray. Taught by saving precepts and instructed by the institution of God, we are bold to say: Our Father . . . from evil. Amen. Deliver us, we beseech, O Lord, from all evils past, present, and to come; and, the blessed and glorious ever Virgin Mother of God Mary, together with Thy blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and Andrew and all the saints, interceding, graciously grant peace in our days, that aided by the help of Thy mercy, we may both be ever free from sin and safe from all distress. Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost God for ever and ever. Amen.

‘The peace of the Lord be with you always. And with thy spirit.

‘May this commixture and consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who receive it to eternal life. Amen.

‘O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. O Lamb of God, that takest

Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
dona nobis pacem.

‘Domine Iesu Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis, pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis, ne respicias peccata mea sed fidem ecclesiae tuae, eamque secundum voluntatem tuam pacificare et coadunare digneris. Qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

‘Pax tecum. Et cum spiritu tuo.’¹

‘Domine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti, libera me per hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem tuum ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis et universis malis, et fac me tuis semper inhaerere mandatis et a te numquam separari permittas. Qui cum eodem Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

‘Perceptio corporis tui, Domine Iesu Christe, quod ego indignus sumere praesumo, non mihi proveniat in iudicium et condemnationem, sed pro tua

away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.

‘O Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst to Thy Apostles, Peace I leave with you, My peace I give to you, regard not my sins but the faith of Thy Church, and deign to grant to her peace and unity according to Thy will. Who livest and reignest God for ever and ever. Amen.

‘Peace be with thee. And with thy spirit.

‘O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who by the will of the Father with the co-operation of the Holy Ghost hast by Thy death given life to the world, deliver me by this Thy most sacred body and blood from all my iniquities and from all evils, and make me ever to hold to Thy commandments, and suffer me never to be separated from Thee. Who with the same God the Father and the Holy Ghost livest and reignest God for ever and ever. Amen.

‘Let not the partaking of Thy body, O Lord Jesus Christ, which I, unworthy, presume to receive, turn to my judgement and condemnation, but

¹ In Masses for the departed ‘dona eis requiem’ is substituted for ‘miserere nobis,’ and ‘dona eis requiem sempiternam’ for ‘dona nobis pacem’; and the prayer ‘Domine Iesu Christe, qui dixisti’ and the ‘Pax tecum’ are omitted. The saying of ‘Pax tecum’ depends on whether the kiss of peace is given.

pietate prosit mihi ad tutamentum mentis et corporis et ad medelam percipiendam. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

‘Panem caelestem accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo.

‘Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum, sed tantum dic verbo et sanabitur anima mea.

‘Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen.

‘Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo. Laudans invocabo Dominum et ab inimicis meis salvus ero.

‘Sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen.

‘Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.

‘Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et sanguis quem potavi, adhaereat visceribus meis, et praesta ut in me non remaneat scelerum macula,

according to Thy goodness may it be profitable to me for a defence of mind and body and for receiving healing. Who livest and reignest with God the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost God for ever and ever. Amen.

‘I will receive the bread of heaven, and will call upon the name of the Lord.

‘Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak only a word, and my soul shall be healed.

‘The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto eternal life. Amen.

‘What shall I give unto the Lord for all that He hath given unto me? I will receive the cup of salvation, and will call on the name of the Lord. Praising I will call on the Lord, and I shall be safe from my enemies.

‘The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto eternal life. Amen.

‘What we have taken with our mouths, O Lord, may we with pure minds receive, and of a temporary gift may it become to us an eternal remedy.

‘May Thy body which I have taken, and Thy blood which I have drunk, cleave to my inward parts; and grant that no stain of sin may

quem pura et sancta refecerunt sacramenta. Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

'Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

'Ite missa est. Deo gratias.

'Placeat tibi, sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meae, et praesta ut sacrificium, quod oculis tuae maiestatis indignus obtuli, tibi sit acceptabile mihi et omnibus pro quibus illud obtuli sit te miserante propitiabile. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

'Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus. Amen.'

Except for slight verbal differences, and that 'Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus. Amen.' is not printed, the text in the Roman Missal of 1474 is the same as that in the modern Roman Missals as given above. The differences in the Sarum Missal are more considerable. The 'Agnus Dei' is placed before the prayer for the commixture instead of after. The prayer for the commixture is as follows :—

'Haec sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi fiat mihi omnibusque sumentibus salus mentis et corporis et ad vitam aeternam promerendam et capescendam praeparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.'

remain in me, whom pure and holy Sacraments have refreshed. Who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen.

'The Lord be with you. And with thy spirit.

'Go, it is the dismissal. Thanks be to God.

'May the performance of my service be pleasing to Thee, O Holy Trinity, and grant that this sacrifice which I, unworthy, have offered in the sight of Thy majesty may be acceptable to Thee, and through Thy mercy may be a propitiation for me and for all those for whom I have offered it. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

'May the almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, bless you. Amen.'

'May this most holy commixture of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me and to all who receive it health of mind and body, and a healthful preparation for attaining and receiving eternal life. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.'

This is followed by the prayer—

‘Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeternae Deus, da mihi hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi ita digne sumere ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere et tuo sancto Spiritu repleri, et pacem tuam habere, quia tu es Deus solus et praeter te non est alius, cuius regnum et imperium gloriosum sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen.’

‘O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, grant to me so worthily to receive this most holy body and blood of Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ that I may be counted worthy through it to receive remission of all my sins and to be filled with Thy Holy Spirit, and to possess Thy peace, because Thou art God alone, and beside Thee there is no other, whose kingdom and glorious rule continue without end for ever and ever. Amen.’

The prayer ‘Domine Iesu Christe, qui dixisti’ does not occur; and the form of the ‘Pax tecum’ is ‘Pax tibi et ecclesiae Dei,’ ‘Peace be to thee and to the Church of God.’ After this ‘Pax’ there is the prayer:—

‘Deus Pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui ductus misericordia unigenitum tuum pro nobis ad infima mundi descendere et carnem sumere voluisti, quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo; te adoro, te glorifico, te tota mentis ac cordis intentione laudo et precor, ut nos famulos tuos non deseras, sed peccata nostra dimittas, quatenus tibi soli vivo ac vero Deo puro corde et casto corpore servire valeamus. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.’

‘O God the Father, source and origin of all goodness, who hast been led by Thy pity to will that Thy only begotten Son should descend for us to the lower parts of the world and take flesh, which I unworthy hold here in my hands, I adore Thee, I glorify Thee, I praise Thee with all my power of mind and heart, and pray that Thou wilt not leave us Thy servants, but forgive our sins, so that we may be able to serve Thee, the only living and true God, with pure heart and chaste body. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.’

The prayer ‘Domine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi’ is the same as in the Roman Missals referred to; but the following

prayers at the actual Communion of the celebrant are different :—

‘Corporis et sanguinis tui, Domine Iesu Christe, sacramentum, quod licet indignus accipio, non sit mihi iudicio et condemnationi, sed tua prosit pietate corporis mei et animae salutis. Amen.

‘Ave in aeternum, sanctissima caro Christi, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi sit mihi peccatori via et vita. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

‘Ave in aeternum, caelestis potus, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi prosint mihi peccatori ad remedium sempiternum in vitam aeternam. Amen.—In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

‘Gratias tibi ago, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeternae Deus, qui me refecisti de sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et precor ut hoc sacramentum salutis nostrae quod sumpsi indignus peccator non veniat mihi ad iudicium neque ad condemnationem pro

‘May the Sacrament of Thy body and blood, O Lord Jesus Christ, which I, although unworthy, receive, not be to me for judgement and condemnation, but according to Thy goodness let it be profitable to the health of my body and soul. Amen.

‘Hail for ever, most holy flesh of Christ, to me before all things and above all things the highest delight. The body of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me a sinner the way and the life. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

‘Hail for ever, heavenly drink, to me before all things and above all things the highest delight. The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be profitable to me a sinner for everlasting healing unto eternal life. Amen. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

‘I give Thee thanks, O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, who hast refreshed me with the most sacred body and blood of Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and I pray that this Sacrament of our salvation which I unworthy sinner have received may not turn to me for judgement or for condem-

meritis meis, sed ad profectum corporis mei et animae salutis in vitam aeternam. Amen.'

nation in accordance with my deserts, but may be for the profit of my body and the health of my soul unto eternal life. Amen.'

The 'Quod ore sumpsimus' is the same. Instead of the 'Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsit' are the following:

'Haec nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine et caelestis remedii faciat esse consortes.'

'May this Communion, O Lord, cleanse us from guilt and make us partakers of heavenly healing.'

'Adoremus crucis signaculum, per quod salutis sumpsimus sacramentum.'

'Let us adore the sign of the Cross, through which we have received the Sacrament of salvation.'

The rest is the same as in the modern Roman Missals except that, as in the Roman Missal of 1474, the 'Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus' is not printed.

In these prayers, which in the more restricted sense follow, and in the wider sense complete, the Canon, as they are in the modern Roman Missals and in the Roman Missal of 1474, there is little which calls for comment from a doctrinal point of view. The words 'This commixture and consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 'deliver me through this Thy most holy body and blood,' 'Thy body which I have taken and Thy blood which I have drunk,' supply somewhat additional emphasis on the connexion already found between the elements and the gift of the body and blood of Christ. The words 'grant that this sacrifice' 'through Thy mercy may be a propitiation for me and for all those for whom I have offered it' may emphasize somewhat more strongly the idea of sacrifice. But in these prayers, as in the Canon in the more restricted sense, there is nothing to commit any either to a theory of the Eucharistic presence which tends towards Transubstantiation or to a theory which tends away from it, either to a more carnal or to a more spiritual view of the nature of

the presence, either to one or to another specific definition of sacrifice.

The Sarum reference to the 'flesh' taken in the Incarnation, 'which I unworthy hold here in my hands,' and the prayers at Communion 'Hail for ever, most holy flesh of Christ,' 'Hail for ever, heavenly drink,' again add a further emphasis on the connexion between the elements and the body and blood of Christ; but it cannot be said that these special Sarum prayers, any more than the prayers last spoken of, necessitate one or another theory as to the presence and the sacrifice as distinct from the doctrines that the Eucharist is a sacrifice and that the consecrated elements are Christ's body and blood.

VI.

So far in this article attention has been confined to the text of the Canon. It remains to treat briefly of the ceremonial acts connected with the use of it. Of these ceremonies the most important are the manual acts. At the recital of the institution the priest is directed to take the host, then to hold it in his left hand and to sign it with the cross with his right hand, and at the words 'This is My body' to hold it in both his hands. Similarly in the following words relating to the chalice he is ordered to take the chalice in both his hands and then to hold it in his left hand and to sign above it with the cross with his right hand, and to hold it a little raised while saying the words 'This is My blood. . . . for the remission of sins.' After reciting the words 'This is My body' he is directed to genuflect and adore, then to rise and shew the host to the people, and then to lay it down and again adore. At the words 'As often as ye shall do this, ye shall do it for a memorial of Me' he is instructed to genuflect and adore, to rise and shew to the people, to place down and again adore. At the words 'Through whom all these good things, O Lord, Thou dost ever create . . . all honour and glory for ever and ever' he is directed to sign the cross three times over the host and the chalice, to genuflect, to sign three times with the

host above the chalice, to sign twice between the chalice and his breast, to raise the chalice slightly together with the host, to place them down and again genuflect. At the end of the prayer ' Deliver us, we beseech Thee, O Lord ' he is instructed to break the host in two, to divide a fragment from one part, to place this fragment in the chalice, and to genuflect both before and after these actions. In addition to these ceremonies the celebrant is directed to make the sign of the cross over the elements on other occasions before and after the recital of the institution, at various points to uplift his eyes, to uplift or extend or join or spread out his hands, to bend low over the altar, to smite his breast, and to kiss the altar and paten. Provision is still made in the rubric for the giving of the kiss of peace after the prayer ' Domine Iesu Christe, qui dixisti ' : ' If the peace is to be given, he kisses the altar, and giving the peace says, Peace be with thee.'

The history of these different ceremonial acts differs much. The sign of the cross, the kiss, the positions of the hands, the smiting of the breast, go back to primitive times. The solemn fraction, as distinct from a breaking of the bread at the recital of the institution and the breaking with a view to Communion, and the commixture are not later than the sixth century.¹ Both fraction and commixture may be much earlier. As to the elevations a distinction must be made. An elevation of the consecrated Sacrament in shewing it to the people before their Communion can be traced back to the sixth century²; and it is possible that the slight elevation at the words ' all honour and glory ' may be historically derived from this. The elevation for the shewing of the Sacrament to the people at the recital of the institution was probably introduced in the twelfth century as part of the protest against minimizing views concerning the Eucharistic presence. The separate elevations after the recital of the words relating to the species of bread and after those relating to the species of

¹ St. Germanus of Paris (died about 576 A.D.), *Expos. brev. ant. liturg. Gall.* i. (P.L. lxxii. 94).

² St. Anastasius of Sinai, *Orat. de sac. syn.* (P.G. lxxxix. 841).

wine, as distinct from one elevation at this point, were probably part of the protest against the view held by some Paris theologians¹ in the twelfth century that the host was not consecrated till the consecration of the chalice had taken place. Genuflexion by the celebrant in the Mass² was probably introduced in the later Middle Ages, taking the place of an older custom of paying reverence by means of inclinations of the body.

The doctrinal significance of the ceremonies is of very varied kinds. Much in them is simply due to the promoting of a general attitude of supplication and worship appropriate to solemn prayer. Some of them were designed to denote a special point. The commixture, whatever its origin and history, came to be regarded as a sign of the re-uniting through the resurrection of the soul and body of our Lord, which had been separated in death, and so to have a special bearing in the Sacrament which is of His risen body and blood.³ The elevation and signs of reverence at the recital of the institution marked the explicit association of the crucial moment of consecration with the use of the words 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood'; and an emphasis on the belief that at consecration the elements become the body and blood of Christ. The use of the sign of the cross was in part due to the constant connexion of this sign with acts of blessing, and in part to the commemoration of the passion. In the liturgical writers of the Middle Ages, as, for instance, Amalarius of Metz in the ninth century, Ivo of Chartres in the eleventh, and Durandus of Mende in the thirteenth, the minute details of the rite and the ceremonial are interpreted as signifying the Church's commemoration of the successive stages of the incarnate life of Christ, so

¹ *E.g.* Petrus Comestor or Manducator, chancellor of Paris 1168-1178, and Peter the Chanter, chancellor of Paris 1193-1196: see Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Eccl.* i. 8; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus*, ix. 27, *Miracula*, i. 4.

² There had been directions for the people kneeling or prostrating themselves at the consecration from early in the thirteenth century: see, *e.g.*, Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus*, ix. 51; Poore's *Constitutions*, 38 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii. 100).

³ See, *e.g.*, Durandus, *Rationale*, IV. li. 17.

that the actions of the priest were regarded as a symbolic pleading before God the Father of the Incarnation and passion and resurrection and ascension and heavenly intercession of our Lord.

It cannot rightly be said that these ceremonies add any new doctrine as to the presence and sacrifice to the Canon of the Mass. But they unquestionably give further and fuller emphasis to particular aspects of doctrine. Part of the emphasis is on the setting forth in mystery of the incarnate life of the Son of God, and of His redemptive acts. Part of it is on the belief, general throughout the West in the Middle Ages, that the consecration is completed at the recital of the institution, and that from this moment the bread and wine have become the body and blood of Christ, so that, where the consecrated elements are, there our Lord is to be adored. Like the Canon itself, the ceremonies do not in any case commit those who use them to any particular theory of the presence or of the sacrifice. In treating the consecrated species as the body and blood of Christ, they do not incline one way or the other as to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or as to a spiritual or carnal view of the state of the body of Christ there present. If Christ is present in the Sacrament, He calls for the same adoration, whether or no the substance of the bread and wine has been converted, and whatever be the manner of His presence. The most emphatic of them all, the elevation at the recital of the institution, was in vogue before any explicit doctrine of Transubstantiation was made to be of faith, and while the great Schoolmen, in developing it, were striving with all their might to protect the spiritual character of the presence.¹ The acts which set out in mystery His incarnate life and death and resurrection do not necessitate one way or the other a particular theory of what sacrifice means. As the words of the Canon can be used, and have been used, and are used, by holders of theories of sacrifice as different as those of Vasquez and

¹ The writer hopes to be able to justify this statement about the Schoolmen in a forthcoming book on the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist.

Suarez and de Lugo and Thomassin,¹ so the ceremonies also can be and have been and are used.

VII.

The subject of the doctrinal significance of the Canon of the Roman Mass was described at the outset of this article as of far more than mere theoretical interest. It is of the first practical importance to know what the official acts of each part of the Church necessarily involve and what they do not. Among such official acts the Canon of the Roman Mass takes a very high place. The recollection of those who have used it in the past and of those who use it in the present suggests solemnizing thoughts to a serious student of the Christian religion. There is something to be said for an opinion that the progress of unity is likely to be promoted as attention is concentrated even more on the rites which the Church uses than on the explanations of doctrines which her theologians have given. Be that as it may, if it can be recognized that the Canon of the Mass in the Roman Missal does not assert or imply any doctrines of the Eucharistic presence and sacrifice which either Eastern Christians² or English Church people need repudiate, such a recognition may tend towards the removal of one of the obstacles to that re-union of Christendom which Christian hearts desire.

DARWELL STONE.

¹ For a full discussion of these theories the writer may be allowed to refer again to the book on the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist already mentioned.

² The implication of the ceremonial that the consecration is completed at the recital of the institution must necessarily be a difficulty to Eastern Christians ; but this point of the moment of consecration is of a different nature from those of the doctrines of the presence and sacrifice. The Western view which connects the consecration with the recital of the institution is very strongly marked in the English Book of Common Prayer by the provision that ' If the consecrated Bread or Wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more according to the Form before prescribed ; beginning at " Our Saviour Christ in the same night, etc." for the blessing of the Bread ; and at " Likewise after Supper etc. " for the blessing of the Cup.'

ART. III.—THE INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE
IN ITS LATEST DEVELOPMENTS.

1. *The Increase of the Episcopate.* By C. E. A. BEDWELL. (London : Longmans, 1906.)
2. *George Ridding, Schoolmaster and Bishop.* By his Wife, Lady LAURA RIDDING. (London : Edwin Arnold, 1908.)
3. *The Cathedral Church and See of Essex.* By Rev. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A. (London : Bemrose, 1908.)
4. *The Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.* A Visitation Charge. By FRANCIS, BISHOP OF OXFORD. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1906.)
5. *More Bishops much needed.* By the Rev. A. R. SHARPE, M.A., Rector of Upper Heyford. (London : Mowbray and Co., n.d. [1908].)
6. *Progress of the Church in London from the Accession of Queen Victoria to 1908.* By the BISHOP OF DOVER. With a Preface by the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. (London : S.P.C.K., 1908.)

FOUR years have passed since we brought together in the pages of this Review the chief facts in relation to the need for an increase of the episcopate as being one of the most pressing matters requiring attention in order that the Church may be made more efficient, from a business point of view, for its work. The temporary cessation of activity caused by the delay in obtaining Parliamentary authorization to complete the arrangements for the formation of dioceses for Essex, Suffolk and Sheffield affords an opportunity to take stock of the situation. Public opinion among Church folk has been instructed upon the subject, particularly in the diocese of St. Albans, where the Bishop has organized that preliminary to its division with the same thoroughness that has marked the other preparations. The Church Reform League, of which he was President two years ago, has done useful work in the

same direction, and a large amount of information upon the subject has been disseminated in pamphlets and leaflets of various kinds. In particular may be mentioned the sixth of the series of 'Heyford Papers,' by the Rev. A. R. Sharpe, Rector of Upper Heyford, which is a simple and effective booklet of fifty pages. More complete information respecting the various efforts during the past seventy years to effect an increase of the episcopate, the present position of episcopacy, together with constructive proposals for the future, will be found in Mr. Bedwell's pages.¹ In a prefatory note the Bishop of St. Albans suggests that the chief lesson to be derived from his survey is a warning against 'the isolated patchwork measures' by which the Church has sought to remedy defects. That, too, is the main point brought out in Lady Laura Ridding's admirable description of her husband's difficulties as first Bishop of Southwell.

The see of Southwell, to which Dr. Ridding was consecrated on St. Philip and St. James' Day, 1884, was constituted under Lord Cross' Act of 1878. The diocese was formed of the counties of Derby and Nottingham, two shires differing as completely in ecclesiastical traditions and methods as in civil ideas and interests. This union was entirely unsought on either side, and both parted with great reluctance from the mother-dioceses of Lichfield and Lincoln. As a culminating blunder, the seat of the Bishop was placed in the little town of Southwell, which has a fine old minster but which could not possibly become the centre of the diocese. The jealousies between the two county towns were accentuated by the absence of any diocesan centre to which both might give place. Out of this medley of disorder and discontent the Bishop single-handed was expected to evolve method and cohesion. There was a debt of 15,000*l.*, no Chapter, no residence, and no fair share of patronage. Hampered in every possible

¹ The book consists in the main of two articles which originally appeared in our pages (*C.Q.R.*, October 1904, April 1905), and contains a very large amount of information which is not, so far as we know readily accessible elsewhere.

way, Dr. Ridding was called to be Father in God of a population of 850,000, which has now been increased by 300,000. The task imposed upon the Bishop was an impossible one. Five years were taken in clearing off the debt, although Dr. Ridding himself gave 3600*l*. Numerous efforts to constitute a Chapter were unsuccessful, and the cathedral still remains without one.¹ Thurgarton Priory was selected by Dr. Ridding as the episcopal residence, but has now been abandoned by his successor for a house in Southwell itself. On his death-bed Dr. Ridding wrote: 'I still think a county the best size of diocese'; and that must be the judgement of anyone who reads the record of this noble and manly struggle to weld together two wholly separate and incompatible entities.

In spite, however, of the evidence of the desirability of having some definite scheme, the Archbishop of Canterbury has twice refused the request of the Canterbury House of Laymen for the appointment of a joint committee to survey the whole province, to indicate those dioceses which are most in need of division, and to suggest the lines for further advance. The Archbishop of York has not only appointed a committee for the Northern Province, but has made it a standing committee, so that it is all the more difficult to understand what may be the reason for the rejection of the proposal in the Southern Province. Since the Northern Committee desire to take counsel with their brethren in the province of Canterbury, we trust that the matter may still receive favourable consideration. A Joint Standing Committee could do useful work at the

¹ 'In 1890 the Bishop, after consultation with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Sir George Pringle, instructed Mr. (now Sir Lewis) Dibdin to draft a bill for the formation of the Southwell Chapter.

'The scheme approved by the Commissioners provided that they should make an endowment of the Chapter out of the old Chapter estates and that a Lincoln Canonry should be annexed; and that, on the formation of a Dean and Chapter of Southwell, the alienated Chapter livings—those in the gift of the Archbishop of York and of the Chapter of Lichfield—should in due course be surrendered to them. The obstacles to the passage of this Bill through Parliament have delayed it till this hour.' (*George Ridding*. By Lady Laura Ridding, p. 167.)

present time in regard to the action which has to be taken by Parliament. It is understood that Lord St. Aldwyn has charge of a Bill to authorize the division of dioceses by Order in Council. Resolutions have been passed by the Convocations, Diocesan Conferences and numerous other bodies in favour of this Bill, but it would be in accordance with constitutional procedure and strengthen the hands of those in charge of the measure if the Bill itself were to be examined by a Joint Committee and then submitted to the two Convocations. The history of Lord Lyttelton's efforts affords a warning that general resolutions cannot be relied upon when it is necessary to call for the support of Churchmen to the details of a Bill embodying them. We should be ignoring the teaching of past experience if we did not mention the probability—amounting almost to a certainty—that amendments will be moved with a view to fixing a minimum for the amount of the episcopal incomes and the size of the diocese. On previous occasions it has been found that the amendments from the friends of a general 'enabling' Bill barred its progress quite as much as the opposition of avowed opponents. The present Bill contains clauses dealing with matters outside its immediate purpose, such as the constitution of cathedral Chapters and the position of the dean. As matters stand, the Church cannot allow the rector of a parish church to be dean of a cathedral without asking the permission of Parliament. Nevertheless, we doubt somewhat the wisdom of complicating the Bill and the discussions about it by adding those incidental matters. But in this again the approval or the dissent of the Convocations would be a guiding factor. To the principal section of the Bill there is an alternative proposal in the suggestion that the procedure by Provisional Order should be adopted in place of the Order in Council.¹ There is, we believe, high authority in support of the proposal. It is a technical matter which requires the consideration of experts familiar with the intricacies of parliamentary procedure. Among the members of the

¹ See *C.Q.R.*, April 1905, p. 23.

Joint Committee would be representatives of the Houses of Laymen qualified to advise in respect to this point. Supported by the instructed and considered opinion of Churchfolk, Lord St. Aldwyn's position would be considerably strengthened in approaching the Government to obtain their assistance in the passage of the Bill. Without their aid it is useless to expect that any Bill to facilitate the division of dioceses will pass through the House of Commons. It seems to be thought that the chances of obtaining such assistance from the Government now in office are smaller than from its predecessor. It may be recalled, however, that some years were occupied in passing the Southwark and Birmingham Bishoprics Bill into law. The past history of the movement for the increase of the episcopate shews that one political party is as ready as the other to further it, and that the controlling factor, as with the majority of measures which receive the approval of the House of Commons, is the amount of public opinion in support. All that Churchmen have to ask of the Prime Minister is that he should be of the same mind as Lord John Russell when he held the same office in 1847. Speaking upon the Bishopric of Manchester Bill he maintained

'that having a Church which was intended for the population of this country, it was fit from time to time to adapt the government, the machinery, and the regulating powers of that Church to the circumstances of the day, and to the increased number of the population. He believed that this was done by all other religious communions. . . . The union of the Church of England with the State ought not to prevent it enjoying the same advantage.'¹

No considerable progress can be made until Parliament recognizes the soundness of his contention. In the meantime we may note the steps which have been taken in the path of reform.

The Southwark and Birmingham Bishoprics Act received the royal assent on August 15, 1904, and after some delay the King and Queen visited the Church of St. Saviour on May 1, 1905, upon its inauguration as the cathedral of the

¹ 94 *Parliamentary Debates*, 463.

new diocese, though the borough has not been accorded the title of city in accordance with precedent. The excellent attendance at the series of services in connexion with that event was a happy augury for the future, justified by the manner in which the cathedral is obtaining a hold in the affections of the people as the mother-church of the diocese. But its financial condition is a matter of serious concern, and the cathedral is in a perennial state of bankruptcy. We have little sympathy with religion 'on the cheap,' but, upon the other hand, it is clear that churches have no more right than individuals to sustain a standard of living beyond their means. Naturally there has been some hesitation in taking the decisive step, especially as it is not possible to present a plain, straightforward issue upon which to come to a conclusion. The position of the cathedral exemplifies the difficulty of considering any Church problem as if Southwark occupied the position assigned to it ecclesiastically of complete isolation from the rest of London. South London is a part of the metropolis, and to form a right decision as to whether an elaborate daily choral service is necessary in the mother-church there has to be taken into account the fact that just over the bridges at St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey are services rendered with all the beauty and comeliness that trained skill and adequate financial means can command. Southwark Cathedral is the centre of a large working-class population who cannot be expected to have high musical ideals. No one would advocate that the service should be adapted to the level of their tastes, but the opposite extreme was equally unsatisfactory. It was admitted that the music was not readily comprehended and appreciated by trained and cultured intellects who had opportunity frequently to enter with understanding into the significance of its rendering. Most people who have taken part in the worship on one of the infrequent occasions when the whole congregation could join in the service would readily agree that there was a reality about the offering of worship by the combined assembly which was sadly lacking at other times.

After many efforts to raise the necessary funds the cathedral authorities have been obliged to make a reduction in the annual expenditure. In a letter to the diocese the Bishop of Southwark has announced the means adopted to this end :

‘The Chapter,’ he writes, ‘have decided that it must be made even at the cost of altering services the beauty and interest of which have attracted attention far and wide and placed our cathedral in the front rank for choral excellence, and of parting with the distinguished organist and choirmaster to whose talent, originality, and untiring devotion to the work this excellence has been mainly due.’

Having bowed to the opinion widely entertained in the diocese ‘that a service of such high musical elaboration is more than a poor diocese can rightly be asked to sustain,’ the Chapter hold an impregnable position in calling upon Churchmen to provide funds for bare necessities. Their aim now is to maintain ‘simple but dignified services suitable to the Mother Church of an important and increasing London diocese.’ Even thus an additional 300*l.* per annum to the assured income is required in subscriptions and collections, and must be raised if Southwark Cathedral is not to become a disgrace not only to the diocese but to the Church of England.

In connexion with the subject of cathedral maintenance may be mentioned the greater difficulty involved in raising the necessary funds to keep the ancient buildings in a satisfactory, or even safe, condition. In a utilitarian age there is a danger lest there should be wanting a proper pride and anxiety to hand on these noble heritages from the past in unimpaired grandeur and magnificence. Never was there a time when the hearts of men, deadened to higher emotions by the crush and pressure of modern life, were more in need of these reposeful retreats in which the arts of music and architecture may lift them out of their normal surroundings to commune with the Infinite. Realizing their value in this respect, and recognizing that the cathedral may form the centre from which to organize many good works for the social and moral regeneration of

the people of the diocese, Sir Henry Burdett has suggested in *The Guardian* that a central fund should be inaugurated for the maintenance of the fabrics. It would be similar to the Guild of Mercy, which, through his initiative and instrumentality, has enlisted the assistance of more than twelve thousand active workers of both sexes and some two hundred thousand associates for the support of the London hospitals.

In addition to the maintenance of Southwark Cathedral, it is necessary to provide £2000. per annum for the stipends of the suffragan bishops. When the Bishop-Suffragan of Southwark became Bishop of Worcester the Bishop of Southwark took the bold step of appointing two successors in his place, deriving their titles from Woolwich and Kingston. It has frequently been claimed that the metropolis affords an example of the advantages of the employment of suffragan bishops instead of the division of dioceses. It is difficult to find the people who really hold that opinion. The Bishop of London has described the process of filtration by which matters reach him for consideration, but the Bishop of Southwark has disavowed the intention to delegate any share in the oversight of his diocese. Although in theory there was to be established a distinction, in practice there would seem to be little difference between the arrangements on the north and south side of the Thames. And yet we cannot but think that without the final responsibility for the shepherding of a diocese the suffragan bishop is bound to be a redundancy. The man of business can provide a parallel to the situation in the circumstances when an establishment under the control of one man is turned into a limited company, with two or three of the managers taken into partnership. They are no longer employés. One has the charge of this and another has the oversight of that: and so with the suffragan bishops. They have been taken into partnership, and something must be assigned to them to justify their position. The senior men in the office feel that they have too much oversight: so with the clergy; while the clerks, like the laity, see more of the partners in the establishment. That is

good for them, but they too know that the ultimate welfare of the firm depends upon the head. We are not now suggesting any plan for the improvement of this state of affairs; but there is urgent need that the whole question of the organization of different branches of Church work in the metropolis should receive full and deliberate consideration. Having reaffirmed our conviction that the metropolis forms the keystone in this as in all other matters concerning the whole country, we may proceed to record what has been done elsewhere.

In the Southern Province the first place must be given to the scheme for the division of the East Anglian dioceses which now awaits the sanction of Parliament. Its success is due to the skilfully directed energy and self-sacrifice which the Bishop of St. Albans has thrown into the effort. The Bishops of Ely and Norwich have given support, but the latter has refrained from calling upon his diocese to make its monetary contribution 'until by the promised act of the Government of the day the division comes within measurable distance.'¹ We regret that he did not share with the Bishop of St. Albans the practical view that money in hand is a form of argument which carries greater weight with Governments and such folk than any other. It was the resignation of the bishopric of Ely by Lord Alwyne Compton which forced the question of the division of the dioceses to the front, and impelled the Bishop of St. Albans to bring the matter before the Upper House of Convocation in May 1905. His statement of the position and proposals for its improvement have been summarized in the following tables:

DIOCESSES AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED.

See	Area	Population, 1901	Benefices	Clergy
Ely . . .	Cambs, Hunts, Beds, and West Suffolk	531,152	567	763
Norwich .	Norfolk and East Suffolk	731,075	890	1006
St. Albans.	Herts and Essex . . .	1,336,267	630	1015

¹ *The Guardian*, May 20, 1908.

PROPOSED RECONSTITUTION OF DIOCESES.

See	Area	Population, 1901	Benefices	Clergy
Ely . .	Cambs and Hunts . .	222,103	252	325
Norwich .	Norfolk	458,596	598	686
St. Albans.	Herts and Beds . .	424,064	303	451
Suffolk ¹ .	Suffolk	407,123	473	537
Essex ¹ .	Essex	1,088,857	461	735

¹ The titles of the new sees are not yet decided.

On the financial side the scheme is particularly favourable, partly owing to the intention that the two new sees shall start with only 2500*l.* per annum each instead of the 3000*l.* which has been considered necessary hitherto. It was required to raise for the two dioceses a total sum of 88,000*l.*, instead of the 100,000*l.* or more which have been necessary on previous occasions for a single diocese. The remainder is made up by the sale of Ely House and the contributions of the three sees affected by the scheme—1500*l.* out of 5500*l.* per annum by Ely, 500*l.* out of 4000*l.* by Norwich, and 700*l.* out of 3200*l.* by St. Albans.

It would be tedious to recount the various steps which have been taken to bring about this measure of reform, but throughout they have been marked by a thorough regard for constitutional requirements and a businesslike procedure which will make them the model for the future division of dioceses. Among other means was the appointment of June 30, 1907, as a day of united intercession in the three dioceses for the furtherance of the scheme. The most difficult point for determination was the question of the see city. There were seven claimants—Barking, Chelmsford, Colchester, Thaxted, Waltham Abbey, West Ham, and Woodford. They were invited to send deputations not exceeding three persons to meet the executive committee, who appointed a small sub-committee to draft, after hearing them, an impartial statement representing the advantages and disadvantages of the various towns or centres proposed, such statement to be submitted to all the parishes in Essex. The committee did not bind themselves to accept

the opinion of the majority, but they desired to be assisted by knowing the matured judgement of the county. It was hoped that the opinion of the parishes might be expressed by the incumbents and churchwardens, supported, where possible, by public meetings of the parishioners. In estimating the value of these judgements due weight was given to the size and importance of the parishes. The greater part of the day was occupied in hearing the statements of the deputations. Three hundred and eighty-five out of 461 benefices expressed an opinion, and the greater number concentrated their votes upon Chelmsford, Colchester, and West Ham. Chelmsford received the first votes of 191 benefices, served by 256 clergy, with a united population of 428,375; Colchester of 101 benefices, served by 121 clergy, with a population of 120,657; and West Ham of 63 benefices, served by 119 clergy, with a population of 321,677. The same result was reached from the consideration of the subject by a number of public or parochial meetings; 65 meetings were in favour of Chelmsford, 40 for Colchester, and 36 for West Ham. The decision of the county, thus carefully ascertained, was unmistakeably in favour of the county town. Colchester had great historical claims, and West Ham would have received even more support if it had not been felt that the time cannot be far distant when the needs of 'London over the border' will necessitate a further division of the diocese. The residence of the Bishop cannot wait for that day. He must live within ten miles of London. Liverpool Street is inevitably the working centre of the county. Church committees must be held in London just as the Education Committee has its office in Broad Street. Furthermore, the Bishop is called upon to take a large share of the work in connexion with the House of Lords, Convocation, the Ecclesiastical Commission, Queen Anne's Bounty, and other organizations. The financial arrangements allow 300*l.* per annum for the residence, instead of the 500*l.* which is the necessary accompaniment of the higher scale of income. By giving the lead in establishing a more modest standard of living the Bishop of St. Albans will

have made an important contribution to a further increase of the diocesan episcopate. The maintenance of the ancient palaces with their noble historic associations is undoubtedly needed as an influence upon this prosaic generation, but the altered circumstances of the times now require that new establishments should be of a different type. For the other new diocese the Suffolk Committee have done a good piece of business in securing Stoke Hall as a residence in Ipswich for the sum of 2500*l.*, plus a few hundreds for alterations and repairs. It has to be remembered, however, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have a voice in these matters. They have recently called upon the Bishop of Truro to spend 1000*l.* in additions to Lis Escop before they would accept it as a see house.

There remains for settlement the thorny question of the titles of the new sees. Dr. Cox, in an interesting little history of the future cathedral church of Essex, shews that the objection which may validly be urged against a see of Hertfordshire, of Berkshire, or the like is not applicable to a title like Essex, and cites a seventh-century precedent for its use. He does not furnish any argument in favour of the title Bishop of Suffolk, and it is difficult to find good reason for a departure from the prevailing practice of naming a bishop by the town in which he has his seat. It may be added that the 'ecclesiastical friends' and publishers who urged Dr. Cox to publish this book at once could hardly have done a greater disservice to the cause which it is intended to further. It has been advertized as an account of 'the last formed see of the Anglican Church.' Nothing militates more against the success of the final effort to obtain the support of public opinion for pushing the Bill through Parliament than the dissemination of the impression that the task is accomplished.

Another county in the province of Canterbury in which there is enthusiasm for its formation into a separate diocese is Shropshire. The Bishop of Lichfield has been ready to repeat his disinterested action in the formation of the Birmingham diocese by considering nothing but the highest welfare of the area under his control. He has

suggested besides 'that in the county of Stafford alone there may shortly be a demand for a division of the diocese after the transfer of the archdeaconry of Salop, with its population of 140,000, to the hoped-for Shropshire diocese.'¹ Some opposition was aroused by the ultra-conservative views of the Bishop of Hereford as to the amount desirable for the income of the new bishop. It was generally felt that the funds would be forthcoming promptly if the diocese were to be established upon a moderate scale, and the generosity of Mr. Stanier, the new member of Parliament for the Newport division, and others has shewn that these hopes would soon obtain fulfilment. Altogether the financial prospect is excellent, as there is a sum of 600*l.* per annum which may be detached from the endowment of the rectory of Edgmond, and, if the Bishop is also Dean, a house is provided for a possible future deanery.

Combined with the Shropshire scheme a proposal has been put forward for a new bishopric of Central Wales. That the diocese of St. Davids is in need of division has been asserted over and over again during the past fifty years, but nobody has shewn a belief in its necessity like the late Mr. J. A. Doyle, a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, who, as a resident in Brecon, bequeathed in 1907 the sum of 5000*l.* to form the nucleus of a fund for that purpose. His bequest is understood also to have been an expression of the conviction that the surest form of Church defence is to render the Church more efficient for its work. Even under the present disadvantageous circumstances the Bishop of St. Davids was able to lay before the Royal Commission, which has been inquiring into the state of the Church in Wales, a remarkable statement of progress in all departments of Church work.

In the diocese of Oxford the subject of its division has been gradually receiving greater attention from the Church-people of the three counties. The work of the Bishop upon the Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline confirmed his conviction of its importance. The last of the recommendations of that Commission was that 'for the purpose

¹ Letter to *The Guardian*, November 11, 1907.

of effective supervision and administration it is desirable that many dioceses should be subdivided.' In his charge to the diocese of Oxford in 1906, based upon the report of the Commission, the Bishop expressed his belief that no better service could be rendered 'than to divide it between two diocesan bishops, each working at an accessible centre, each serving an area throughout which he could exercise a real and constant influence.' It would seem as if the special contribution to the work of Church reform from the present Bishop of Oxford were likely to be the rectification of the excesses in carrying out the ideal of a Bishop's life put forward by one of his famous predecessors. The unceasing activity of Bishop Wilberforce had a salutary and far-reaching effect, but in these days, when everyone is in a hurry and bustle, we need witnesses to the power of the forces that are not seen, and Bishops who can resist the temptation to be always speaking on public platforms or taking part in despiritualizing functions. They need to stand apart from the struggle of life, and draw men to them by the strength of their quietness and confidence. But the ideal which the Bishop of Oxford has set before the people of the diocese cannot be better expressed than in his own words in the charge already quoted :

'As the Bishop's longing and power to help should be telling in every one of the scattered parishes of the diocese, so should he be always drawing all into closer unity ; himself, in a real way, the centre, standing in the same relation to every point on the circumference, discharging the same office, keeping the same mind and heart towards all ; making it impossible for one parish to drift out of sympathy with another, because all alike need his office and ministry for the completeness of their life. But, above all, he should be felt in the spiritual life of the diocese ; he should be able and ready to lead others forward in that mindful realization of the things unseen, that clear reliance on the powers of the world to come, which gives the true note of unworldliness, unearthliness to the Church's work ; which lifts it high above the complacency of organization and the associations of political strife ; and which enables men, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear, to see in it the beauty of holiness, and to know what is meant by the city of God.'

The prospect, viewed with general regret, that the Bishop of Reading might feel obliged to resign the charge which he has held for nearly nineteen years led the Bishop of Oxford to urge that 'the time has come when a strenuous effort ought to be made for the division of the diocese,' and to ask him to continue his assistance in the meantime. The formulation of sound plans is a matter requiring careful and deliberate consideration; but a right judgement, which the diocese is now seeking, is much assisted by such a considered statement as the charge of the Archdeacon of Berkshire in May 1908.¹

Before leaving the Southern Province mention must be made of one other item of progress. The Bishop of Worcester, prompted by the experience gained in Southwark, is making ready the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Coventry, for its future position as a cathedral by the establishment of a College of Clergy and the transfer of the patronage to himself. A voluntary arrangement has been made by which a Chapter is constituted, with the Bishop as dean, and a sub-dean to preside in his absence. A feature of the constitution is the inclusion of lay canons to have equal rights with the clerical save in the ordering of Divine Service. Some of the clerical as well as the lay canons hold office by election. One of the priest canons is elected by the clergy of Coventry, one by the Diocesan House of Clergy, and one by the members of the Chapter. Three of the lay canons will be elected in Coventry and one by the Diocesan House of Laymen. The present position of Coventry is clearly unsatisfactory, so that the Bishop's action gives expression to the general feeling that the restoration of the ancient bishopric must be regarded with a definite purpose to further its accomplishment.

The establishment of a city bishopric at Birmingham may well have stimulated the cities of Yorkshire to some discontent with their present position. It is certain that when the Archbishop of York renewed the proposal, originally made shortly after his translation, to divide

¹ *Charge of the Archdeacon of Berkshire.* Reprinted from *The Reading Mercury and Berks County Paper*, May 16, 1908.

the diocese, his action was welcomed with cordiality. Whatever conception may be held of the episcopal office, it is impossible for anyone to think that an archbishop can attempt the particular oversight of a diocese extending ninety miles from Sheffield in the south to Stockton-on-Tees in the north, averaging forty miles in width, containing 630 benefices, with nine hundred clergy and a million and a half of people. The Archdiocese of York is, besides, divided for civil purposes between the three ancient divisions of the North, West, and East Ridings. The West Riding, split up between the dioceses of York, Ripon, Wakefield, Southwell and Manchester, is the portion of the county most in need of attention. It has been generally agreed that to place a bishopric at Sheffield for the southern portion is the first step. Its commercial importance has suggested that it should become the centre of a diocese, since it was created a city in 1893; but the only step taken was its selection for the title of a suffragan bishop in 1901. The grant of a university charter to the Yorkshire College in 1905 has added to its suitability. The boundaries suggested for the new dioceses by the Committee of the Northern Convocation are the rural deaneries of Sheffield, Rotherham, Ecclesfield, Wath, Doncaster, Snaith, and such portions of the diocese of Southwell as now are or may be located within the city and county of Sheffield. These boundaries would include an area containing about 150 benefices. The estimated population thus obtained would be 840,000, of which rather more than half would be resident in the city of Sheffield. Towards the endowment the Archbishop expressed his readiness to relinquish 1000*l.* per annum of his income, and it is understood that a further 1000*l.* may be forthcoming from another source. As might be expected from a city like Sheffield, little difficulty has been experienced in raising the capital sum required for the endowment. There is in hand nearly 40,000*l.* out of the total of 50,000*l.* In carrying out the scheme the city has had the financial and spiritual support of the three Ridings. The Archbishop has appointed the Festival of All Saints to be the day

‘to make a crowning effort to collect the offerings of the whole diocese.’

The Archbishop of York also expressed his willingness to relinquish another 1000*l.* per annum towards the endowment of a diocese of Hull; but the West Riding claims further attention. We have expressed ourselves previously in favour of a diocese of Hull, but no doubt there is an unusual number of difficulties in the way. With due care in delimiting boundaries according to sound principles and in the selection of the see city, it is certainly well to follow the path of least resistance in order to effect some immediate improvement. In view of the unsatisfactory configuration of the diocese of Wakefield, it has been thought desirable to proceed with careful deliberation by united consultation between representatives of the dioceses of York, Ripon, and Wakefield. It is clear that on every account Leeds is entitled to be the seat of a bishop. The York Convocation Committee suggested that a diocese should be formed to comprise the rural deaneries of Leeds, Otley, Wetherby, and Whitkirk. This would give a population of 525,000 and an area of 152,405 acres. Bradford and the Craven district would then remain for treatment. The claims of the city as a commercial centre are almost as great as those of Leeds, since its chief magistrate received the dignity of Lord Mayor in 1907. The Bishop of Ripon has expressed a willingness to surrender 1000*l.* of the present income of the see, of which half might be transferred to the Leeds bishopric; but financial considerations can hardly present any obstacle, nor can the plea be entered in this case that the idea is unfamiliar to the people of the district. For more than forty years it has been definitely before the citizens of Leeds that the time must come when the noble parish church will contain a bishop's stool. Upon the firm foundation laid by Dr. Hook, the Church has built and upheld a leading position in every movement for the amelioration of local conditions of life, and the maintenance of high ideals of conduct. All the conditions are in existence to justify the belief that the one thing wanting is a bishop at the head of ecclesiastical life in the city to lead and solidify

the work of the Church so that it may become an increasing force, diffusing far and wide an influence for the highest good of all.

While the position in Yorkshire is full of hopefulness, and the measures which are being taken to remedy the existing defects are marked by thoroughness and an anxiety to proceed upon sound principles, the situation in Lancashire is just the reverse. The difficulties are great, but the need is greater, and when once that is realized by Lancastrians there need be no doubt as to the result. The first obstacle seems to be that the laity are apathetic on the subject, as they have been elsewhere, for the simple reason that they have so little opportunity of gaining any idea of the real functions of episcopacy. It would seem as if one layman desired to compensate for the silence of the remainder by never losing an opportunity to make himself heard in the expression of extravagant suggestions, which only cause annoyance and irritation. As regards episcopal oversight Lancashire is certainly in a starved condition, and has need to remember that half a loaf is better than no bread.

The present Bishop of Manchester has pointed out that the desire for the division has not so far come from the Bishops of the diocese. Bishop Fraser would never consent to it, and Bishop Moorhouse, until the end of his episcopate, steadily resisted the idea. 'Towards the close of his episcopate he consented to it, but it would not be right to say that he did more than consent.'¹ It is strong evidence of the desire for division that in spite of this discouraging circumstance the subject was urged upon the present Bishop shortly after his appointment. The Diocesan Conference had in hand a scheme for forming a new diocese from the northern portion of the county, where the desire for division is naturally felt most strongly on account of the distance from Manchester of one portion and from Carlisle for residents in the Furness district. The Bishop proposed a tripartite division of the diocese, which was rejected by a Conference Committee. He suggested that one diocese should consist of the two northern archdeaconries, another

¹ Speech in Convocation, *The Guardian*, March 4, 1908.

of the ancient parish of Manchester and some immediately adjacent parishes, and the third of the rest of the Manchester archdeaconry. If the Bishop became his own dean so as to render the endowment of the deanery available, and each Bishop received 3000*l.* per annum it is estimated that the three dioceses could be established for a capital sum of 110,000*l.* By this means the spiritual supervision of the ancient parish of Manchester would be once more restored to the mother-church, and its rector would be bishop as well as rector of the old parish. The present appointment to the deanery of Manchester was made after this plan had been suggested, so that its tenure is recognized as being liable to modification. The Committee of York Convocation, who were in a position to have given a helpful opinion, seem to have been content to state the proposals without committing themselves to the expression of a preference. With a view to obtaining a plebiscite on the whole matter the Bishop was requested to outline in writing such provisions for the division of the diocese as he felt himself able to support, and to submit them through the clergy to the Easter vestries, with a request that each parish should state the amount which it was prepared to promise in support of a project for the division of the diocese. Readiness to give money to an object is a good test of interest, but the memorandum gave no opportunity to the average layman of appreciating the importance from a spiritual point of view of an increase of the episcopate. The Bishop set aside the scheme for making a diocese of the northern part of the county unless it was accompanied by the provision of an endowment of 40,000*l.* for a suffragan bishop to assist the Bishop of Manchester. The memorandum also explained the tripartite scheme and asked for returns to be made by Ascension Day, since if the canvass proved to be unfavourable some other subject would take its place in the programme of the Church Congress. This may be a suitable way of choosing subjects of discussion for a Diocesan Conference, but it represents a rather narrow view of the functions of a Church Congress. Moreover, we should have thought that an unfavourable reception

would have justified just the opposite conclusion. If Churchmen are not in favour of the division of the huge diocese of Manchester, then they are sorely in need of assistance in broadening their minds, and the educative influence of a Church Congress discussion might be expected to be effective in that direction. It is desirable that a full statement should be published of the reception accorded to the Bishop's memorandum in order that it may be possible to appreciate the nature and extent of the difficulties in the way of advance.

To sum up briefly the situation. Essex and Sheffield are being held back by Parliament. Suffolk is waiting until the Government have given clear expression to their intention. Shropshire will move when Parliament has taken action. Oxfordshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire would be much encouraged by the passing of a general 'enabling' Bill, and even Manchester might receive assistance in a painful situation from action by the legislature.

ART. IV.—THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

1. *Women in the Universities of England and Scotland.* By EMILY DAVIES. (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1896.)
2. *Henry Sidgwick: a Memoir.* By A. S. and E. M. S. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906.)
3. *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough.* By her niece BLANCHE ATHENA CLOUGH. (London: Edward Arnold, 1897.)
4. *Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham.* By ELIZABETH RAIKES. (London: A. Constable, 1908.)
5. College Reports, Pamphlets, &c.

'The future of the world depends, in every large question, on the higher education of women.'—SIR R. C. JEBB.¹

THE movement for the higher education of women may be said to be a special product of the Victorian Age. Highly educated women have, as is well known, existed at one

¹ *Life*, p. 116.

time or another in most civilized countries—in Greece, in Alexandria, in Italy, and elsewhere. It would be too long a task to reckon up the list. Wherever a woman of exceptional intelligence comes within reach of the necessary means of learning, she is sure to make use of them, be her name Hypatia, Olympia Morata,¹ Lady Jane Grey, or Caroline Herschel. But the peculiarity of the present movement is that it concerns the higher education not of one or two women here and there, but of women in the mass.

Herein it only illustrates the general tendency of the age. It may be doubted whether, in the case of women, any other kind of education can surpass, or even equal, that which can be obtained in a highly cultivated home. But that must always be the privilege of the few. At the present day, in this as in most other respects, we have to think of the many. The 'privileged classes' rightly feel it their duty not only to impart their material advantages to those who stand in need of them, but to be willing to admit others to a share of those intellectual, social, and educational privileges of which they once had a monopoly: to give them—if not the very best—at least the best possible under the circumstances; and it is this kind of education which will be discussed in the present article.

When we look back for a century or somewhat less we see how the growth of women's education has developed *pari passu* with the other forward movements of the time. Up to the year 1815 or thereabouts the attention of the country was concentrated on the great struggle with Napoleon Bonaparte, which threw everything else into the background. We have only to open one of the novels of Jane Austen—herself a distinguished product of old-fashioned 'home education'—to see how restricted was the outlook for both sexes. The men in those delightful stories belong to the old professions, parson, doctor, lawyer, soldier, sailor, country squire, with a dim vision of a 'Bristol sugar-merchant' in the background. To the women absolutely no profession is open, save matrimony and possible

¹ See Bishop Creighton's *Historical Essays and Reviews*, 'A Learned Lady of the Sixteenth Century.'

governessing with, if lucky, 'wax candles in the schoolroom.' We cannot imagine Anne Elliot seeking consolation for disappointed affections in a sisterhood, or Jane Fairfax being sent to Girton, or poor little Harriet Smith being trained as a hospital nurse, any more than we can imagine a rich Manchester man coming forward to rival Robert Martin in her affections. There is, we may venture to say, hardly a family in England now whose circumstances, as regards the openings both for sons and daughters, have not been greatly changed in the last eighty or ninety years. In our own day there may be in an ordinary English family one brother in the Indian Civil Service, another in Ceylon, another in Canada or South Africa. One or two of the sisters marry; another is doing zenana work in India, another is in a High School, another in a 'Settlement.' The whole aspect of society has been altered; even the country houses are occupied by new families; there has been a complete industrial revolution—thanks, chiefly, to the agency of steam. It is strange to think that a boiling kettle, watched for once by an unusually intelligent pair of boyish eyes, has been the chief factor in all our progress; but it is hardly an exaggeration to say that this is the case.

The first half of the nineteenth century, while it left England time to breathe after the great continental struggle, left us also leisure to see how necessary it was to set our house in order. This is not the place to dwell upon the Reform Bill agitation, the New Poor Law, and the like. It was a time of general discontent among the labouring classes, while the Crown did little to make itself respected, and the tone of the highest society left very much to be desired. With the accession of Queen Victoria a new era seemed to dawn. Fresh from the perusal of her early letters as many of us are, we cannot but feel that it might have been said to her as to Esther of old, 'Who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?' When the wave of revolution swept over Europe, and carried Louis Philippe off his throne in 1848, how different things might have been for this country but for the personal qualities of our young queen, and the husband she loved

so well. There were indeed crying evils to be remedied. The nation had, as one might say, outgrown its clothes. Population had increased, especially in our large towns, and the machinery for coping with it was most inadequate. As regarded women's work the development was at first almost entirely on a religious side.

The 'forties' may be said to be the initial era of sisterhoods.¹ This movement, connected as it was with the great Tractarian revival, preceded the organization of women's work on secular lines; and closely related to it was that for the training of elementary teachers. Colleges for this purpose rapidly sprang up²; and it is instructive to see how the earliest attempts in the nineteenth century to organize the practical and intellectual powers of women were mainly due to the Church. We may mention as an example the noble work of the late Dean Butler at Wantage, the nucleus of which was the training of teachers.³

The first attempt to found a women's college for what is usually called 'higher education' was made by the Rev. F. D. Maurice and his circle of friends in 1848. The date is an interesting one, as closely following on the publication of Tennyson's *Princess* in 1847. When we remember that Maurice was one of Tennyson's closest friends, that poem, with its charming half-serious banter, comprising as it does some of the loveliest verse the poet ever wrote, is for us not only a delightful echo of the feeling of the moment, but gives an opportunity for some of the profoundest wisdom, most felicitously expressed, which has ever been uttered with regard to the relation of the sexes.

Among the many claims which Queen's College has on our gratitude, one, by no means the least, is that it offered a field for the development of the singular powers of Miss Dorothea Beale, a woman as deeply religious as she was highly intellectual, who was first a student and then mathematical tutor there in 1850, and subsequently tutor in Latin also. Her wonderful subsequent career at Cheltenham

¹ See Liddon's *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii. pp. 10, 15-32, 192.

² The Salisbury Training College was founded in 1841.

³ See his *Life*.

ham is a matter of widespread recognition. We cannot do better than refer our readers to the deeply interesting story which is told in the delightful pages of her *Life* by Mrs. Raikes. Her friend, Miss Buss, whose honoured name will ever be connected with the North London Collegiate School, was also educated at Queen's College, as was Miss Dove, now of Wycombe Abbey School. In 1849 Bedford College was founded, but on lines somewhat differing from those of Queen's College. In 1850 examinations for both boys and girls were instituted by the College of Preceptors.

But the turning-point of the movement may be placed in 1869, when the Report of the Schools Enquiry Commission was published and revealed a melancholy state of things as regarded female education.

Only thirteen endowed schools in England were devoted to the education of girls.

'We find [said the Report], as a rule, a very small amount of professional skill, an inferior set of school-books, a vast deal of dry, uninteresting task-work, rules put into the memory with no explanation of their principles, no system of examination worthy of the name, a very false estimate of the relative value of the several kinds of acquirements, a reference to effect rather than to solid worth, a tendency to fill and adorn rather than to strengthen the mind.'

One of the results of that investigation was the formation in 1872 of the 'Girls' Public Day School Company,' and the establishment of High Schools and of Church Schools organized, like those of Baker Street (1878) and Graham Street (1881), on High School lines. The 'Church Schools Company' was formed in 1883. In many cases old charitable foundations have been utilized for a similar purpose. This was also the era of the opening of Local Examinations (at first very grudgingly and timidly conceded) to women, followed by the foundation of Girton, which owes a special debt of gratitude to Miss Emily Davies, in October 1869¹ and of Newnham in 1871. It is impossible to give details in a survey like the present, but the reader may be referred

¹ Its first home was at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire.

to the works mentioned at the head of this article. Among the promoters of the Cambridge movement some are, happily, still living; but of those no longer among us it would be impossible to pass over the name of Henry Sidgwick, though such a name speaks for itself, and of Anne Clough, whose combination of far-sighted views and intellectual earnestness with a truly womanly nature and a certain old-world motherly charm made itself felt, not only among her students but by all who came into contact with her and the new life at Cambridge. Many other names, well deserving of mention, have to be passed over. There was some difference, which has gradually diminished, between Girton and Newnham, Newnham being said to be 'more frankly Nonconformist,' and also to have encouraged its students to work for Local Examinations, whereas Girton from the first aimed at a strictly University curriculum. In 1881 examinations for degrees in honours were thrown open to women by the University of Cambridge; and it must have been a proud moment for the friends of either college when Miss Ramsay of Girton and Miss Fawcett of Newnham achieved the distinctions in classics and mathematics respectively which will ever be associated with their names.

In 1878 a 'Women's Department' was founded in connexion with King's College, London, by Mrs. William Grey, Miss Shirreff, Dr. (now Bishop) Barry and others. This has grown and developed even beyond expectation, and has now attached to it a flourishing house of residence for women students.

In Oxford the year 1879 saw the foundation of Somerville and Lady Margaret Halls—the former undenominational, the latter on Church lines with liberty for the members of other religious bodies, as is also the case with St. Hugh's (1886) and St. Hilda's (1893). Oxford also possesses a large number of unattached or 'Home' students, who reside in recognized houses, and attend the lectures provided or procured by the 'Association for the Education of Women in Oxford.' In one respect the system differs from that at Cambridge. The whole of the lectures for

the higher education of women (which are now with very few exceptions the same as those attended by members of the University) are arranged for, and the private tuition assigned, by a committee of the 'Association,' on which the various principals and resident tutors of the women's colleges are represented.

In 1879 one college lecture was open to women students ; at the present time women are admitted, under certain regulations, to nearly all the college lectures in Oxford. In both Cambridge and Oxford the names of women appear in a supplementary Class List, appended to those of the various Honour Examinations ; but in neither University is the actual degree of B.A. conferred upon them.¹ The Oxford Association for the Education of Women gives, however, a B.A. Diploma and a Pass Certificate to students who have duly qualified on University lines, including residence for a stated number of terms. Students at Holloway College and others have also repeatedly distinguished themselves in the Oxford examinations.

The writer may add that in her experience at Lady Margaret Hall about one half of the students become teachers. Of the rest a considerable proportion marry, others live at home, a fair number do literary or research work, and of those who have independent means several are engaged in philanthropic work at home and others in missionary work abroad. At Somerville College there is perhaps a larger proportion of students who enter the career of teachers.

Some of the abler women students at Oxford and Cambridge have obtained 'doctorats' and other distinctions at foreign Universities. A considerable number have taken the B.A. and M.A. degrees at Dublin. It is not, however, our intention to discuss at the present time the vexed question of University degrees for women. The ashes of that controversy are still too hot to be safe or agreeable walking ! Meanwhile it is safe to say that the world is learning by

¹ Girton, which has from the beginning aimed at giving women students precisely the same education as men, gives a certificate of its own to those who have duly completed their course.

experience the worth of a University training for women ; and every well-equipped student who, having taken honours in one of the University Examinations, leaves her college for scholastic or other work takes her own character with her and helps to raise the standard of public opinion.

The University of London, the provincial Universities of England, and the Scottish and Irish Universities admit women to degrees, including in nearly all cases degrees in medicine. It may be said in passing that it is difficult to overrate the importance of medical training for women, especially when we remember that, where India is concerned, the medical lady-missionary, who alone has access to the zenana, may be said to hold the key of the situation in her hand.

But it is time, perhaps, to ask ourselves, How far has the social life and progress of England benefited by the 'higher education of women'? How far have women themselves profited by these recent developments?

And here we must begin by owning that no power on earth can make women really different from what Nature made them. 'Du bist am Ende was du bist,' must always remain true of either sex. While we see feminine culture carried to an exceptionally high level, and with many very gratifying results, we do not, so far as we can judge, see much indication of the discovery of great original power amongst women, either in the department of mechanical and scientific invention, musical or poetical composition, philosophic thought or historical *chefs-d'œuvre*. In the one department in which they confessedly shew originality—that of fiction—they have been very little indebted to the 'higher education,' as may be seen by recalling the names of our greatest women writers. Speaking in general terms we may say that though there is proverbially 'no sex in souls,' there is a good deal of sex in brains ; and it is curious to observe what an analogy there is here between the physical and mental functions of the sexes. Just as in the history of a family the initiative must always lie with the father, while it is the part of the mother to foster, to nourish and to modify (for every child inherits qualities and

characteristics from both parents), so in our mental history the initiative may be said to come from the men of the race—the poets, the thinkers, the inventors—while to the women belong the interpretative sympathetic powers without which progress would never have been made.

When we read the lives of many great men, we are constantly made aware of the fact that they would not have been what they were without the moral support and sympathy of some like-minded woman. Tennyson's debt to his admirable wife, Robert Browning's to Elizabeth Barrett, can never be over-stated. The wife of Mozart, the sister of Mendelssohn, both helped to foster the genius of those great natures, while the life of Wordsworth would have been wrecked at its most critical moment but for his sister Dorothy. The charming story of Benjamin West exclaiming 'That kiss made me a painter,' when his mother thus shewed her approval of one of his early sketches, will bear repeating once more. It is indeed unnecessary to labour a point so universally admitted; but as every woman cannot be the wife, sister or mother of a genius, let us ask on what lines in more ordinary cases ability in a woman is most likely to be usefully employed. Women possess in a marked degree the *interpretative* function. Sometimes they interpret men to themselves. When Cowper exclaims of Catharina—

'My numbers that day she had sung,
And gave them a grace so divine
As only her musical tongue
Could infuse into numbers of mine;
The longer I heard, I esteemed
The work of my fancy the more,
And e'en to myself never seemed
So tuneful a poet before'—

he is giving apt illustration to our meaning. This perhaps is why the work of a lady student is often so enthusiastically praised by a tutor. He sees his own ideas more or less reflected, often in a very charming manner, in the mind of a clever and accomplished woman. For the same reason women are often admirable lecturers, teachers, editors,

biographers, public speakers, actresses and public singers. They do not perhaps originate ideas, but they are most successful in diffusing them. For example, some of the most distinguished of women writers have had a large share in popularizing religious and political or philosophical movements. Thus the Evangelical movement owed much to the tracts of Hannah More and the tales of Mrs. Sherwood, the Tractarian movement to the novels of Charlotte Yonge. The utilitarian philosophy of her day found a voice in the tales of Harriet Martineau; Mrs. Browning's *Aurora Leigh* and *The Cry of the Children*, the novels of Charlotte Brontë and Mrs. Gaskell, called attention to many social evils; the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* struck a heavy blow at the slave trade; and the pen of Madame de Staël was as much dreaded by Napoleon as the sword of his enemies. At the present moment we see the same law illustrated by the numbers of Oxford and Cambridge women, who as teachers and lecturers are popularizing throughout the length and breadth of the land the ideas of the leading minds of our Universities, and the results of recent research in history, science, literature, languages, and to some extent in theology. It appears therefore to be an indispensable condition of progress that women should be educated up to the level of their age. But experience so far has not led us to think that their functions will be very different from what they always have been. Among those functions, the organizing and administrative qualities rank very high. It was a true instinct that made Vergil introduce us to Dido as the builder of a great city, the leader of a great movement. It may be pardonable to quote the exquisite lines once more:

Qualis in Eurotae ripis, aut per iuga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradiensque Deas supereminet omnes;
Latonae tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus,
Talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat
Per medios, *instans operi regnisque futuris.*

Aen. i. 498.

Among the gifts which are observable in the great women of all ages is this power of organization, or, as in the case of Joan of Arc and of Isabella of Castile, of kindling and inspiring enthusiasm. The love of order is one of their most marked characteristics ; and not less so is that quick sympathy and perception of character which made Elizabeth of England so successful in her choice of Ministers, and so extraordinarily tactful in the government of her people. In Wordsworth's lines

‘ A perfect woman, nobly planned
To warn, to comfort and command,’

the last word is not chosen merely for the sake of rhyme. Women in their proper places have great commanding power, and it may fairly be said of the ‘ higher education ’ that if it has done nothing else it has at least tended to cure them of narrowness and pettiness, and love of arbitrary rule. It was said at the beginning of this article that the education of women had kept pace with the general development and the needs of English society. Perhaps the founders of women's colleges hardly realized, as we do now, how much demand there would be for organized communities of women who had no ‘ vocation,’ as it is called, for sisterhoods, and yet a burning desire to help the poor, the ignorant and the unfortunate. The last twenty years have seen a great development of ‘ Settlements ’ and similar communities for women ; and they have been largely recruited from, and supported by, our women's colleges. A ‘ college girl ’ learns to live and let live ; she imbibes the unwritten rules of community life ; she has many little tiresome absurdities laughed out of her ; she ‘ finds her level ’ ; she learns method, thoroughness and self-control ; she often makes valuable friendships ; she is ready for the special training for philanthropic work which lies ready to her hand. It may be added in this place that the athletics, now a recognized feature in our schools and colleges, have, if not indulged in to excess, a very great value in preparing women for active philanthropic work, where the sound body is almost as much needed as the sound mind. People who are afraid

of travelling on an omnibus in the rain and cannot exist in draughty rooms are of very little use in 'settlement' life, and a fairly tough physique is absolutely indispensable for the work of foreign missions. In all these ways may be seen how, as we have said, while the work (and plenty of it) has been prepared for the women, the women have been prepared for the work. What would Jane Austen or her contemporaries have said could they have taken a glance at one of our great modern schools and seen the descendant of Emma or of Harriet Smith keeping order in a big form of forty or fifty girls of the lower middle class, and giving them (say) a lesson in modern history? What would they have said if they could have had a prophetic glimpse of some poor street in Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, or Lambeth, with its swarming, overcrowded population, and detected the figure of Anne Elliot's great-granddaughter threading her way, without even a boy in buttons behind her, through that confused and sordid labyrinth? One feels as if Sir Walter Elliot would have turned in his grave; while it is simply inconceivable what any of that generation would have thought of a woman heading the poll (as was recently the case) at a municipal election; or taking her place on a board of guardians or a school board, organizing a great nursing movement like Florence Nightingale, practising as a physician, editing a paper, or conducting such a work among sailors as that of Miss Weston at Portsmouth. Yet this is exactly what is happening every day.

But we have left one, and that the most important, thing to the last: the great spiritual force possessed and wielded by women. There are excellent reasons why women should never be admitted to Holy Orders; though one may say that when women are what they were meant to be there is a *natural* consecration about them. The susceptibility of women to religious influence and their power of exerting that influence on others may perhaps be gauged by the instinctive shrinking which the average man feels from an openly irreligious woman, and his recognition of the fact that women at least ought to be religious. One sees a travesty of that

feeling in Thackeray's good women (who would have been most irritating people to live with); but as Shakespeare said long ago,

'Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds,'

and there is nothing so bad as a thoroughly bad woman, because she has so completely broken with Nature.

At the present time we greatly need not only 'good' women but women whose religion rests upon a secure, intelligible foundation, and who in teaching others are abreast of the theological science of the day. Even in our elementary schools no teacher is free from the influence of the critical modern spirit. Scientific difficulties, moral problems, difficulties about the Old Testament, questions about the social teaching of Christianity, difficulties about the Incarnation and, in fact, about all the distinctive doctrines of the Church, are in the air. No religious teacher, man or woman, can afford to ignore them, and it will be the chief glory of our Women's Colleges if they are alive to this danger and preparing to meet it. There seem many hopeful indications that such is beginning to be the case.

But, it may be asked, are there no drawbacks to the higher education of women as it is carried on in these colleges? One always suspects a picture with a predominance of *couleur de rose*, and we will quite frankly admit what our present dangers appear to be. The first is overspecialization. That is not, however, peculiar to women's education, but it seems part of the law of our development. It is difficult to see how it is to be avoided. In a highly civilized country a man's only chance is to know, or to do, some one thing thoroughly, even if it be at the expense of his general culture. And in the case of single women it is much the same. It is becoming harder and harder to find the old-fashioned governess, with a good 'all-round' education, a fair share of accomplishments, nice manners and good Church principles.

On the other hand, it may be contended that private governesses, being more at a premium than they used to be, have a chance of being more adequately paid. The difficulty

in the life of almost every woman is the uncertainty as to her future marriage. The average college student often does not know what her lot in this respect may be. If she is not to marry, and has to earn her bread, she had much better specialize; if she *is*, perhaps an education more on the lines laid down by Mrs. Malaprop, with due allowance made for modern progress, would by some be considered more useful to her.

It sometimes happens nevertheless that married women, certainly widows, have to be the breadwinners. In that case it is well for them to have a good thorough knowledge of some one thing, rather than a smattering of half a dozen. It may be allowable, however, to plead earnestly with parents and head-mistresses not to cram and press their girls before they come up to college. Better lose a scholarship than, as sometimes happens, begin life at college with chronic headache, neuralgia, or anaemia. From the age of eight to eighteen a girl certainly ought *not* to specialize. She should get a good all-round interest in life, and be taught the usual subjects and accomplishments, including, if one may dare to say so, dancing and deportment, a much neglected item in the training of the modern girl. Eighteen or nineteen is quite early enough to begin working for a particular 'Tripos' or 'School.' The 'all-round' education will have given her a certain sense of proportions and values—a most difficult thing to acquire, and one of which the neglect is the besetting sin of the specialist.

Another danger which we have to face is the temptation, natural to either sex when living apart from the other, of neglect of the little courtesies of life. The writer can only, of course, speak from personal experience of circumstances at Oxford, but on the whole it is a distinct advantage to women students to be within sight and reach of brothers and cousins, as is, of course, the case in a University town. A masculine critic under five-and-twenty is usually very susceptible as to what he would describe as 'good form' or the reverse in a young lady, and a few words from a brother would probably go a great deal further to correcting little eccentricities than a good many from one of her own sex.

A more real danger is, perhaps, that of the temporary severance of home ties. It is not every girl who, after three strenuous years at Oxford or Cambridge, will go and settle down quietly in a country town or village. And if a girl's future life were certain to be at home it may be doubted if the college life would not in some cases be a rash experiment. But who does not know the large family of daughters 'getting on' for middle age, two of whom could really do all the work of the household and parish, running over one another, with hardly space in which to turn round, in a small parsonage drawing-room? Yet these women are first-class raw material. They usually come of a good stock, have health, intelligence, the instincts of gentlewomen, and have had a religious and wholesome bringing-up. They are the very people whom this generation wants for its educational and charitable work. Why not send one or more of them to college, with a view to future usefulness? Both this country and our colonies are crying out for such workers. But it will perhaps here be said, as often has been said on previous occasions, Will not a University education 'upset a girl's faith'?

Having had now some experience of what is called the 'higher education of women,' we may venture to say that, though religious faith and spiritual-mindedness are a gift, not any more to be obtained by study than bought for silver and gold, yet there is nothing necessarily in a University education to check or warp them. As with men, so with women, higher education does but forge the armour, does but provide the tools, for the warfare or work of life. Our use of these instruments must depend upon ourselves. It would be impossible to illustrate this from examples without giving the names of many who are, happily, still alive—of women who, as heads of important schools, as wives and mothers, as home or foreign missionaries, have made use of their academic training for the service of Christ. The 'Student Christian Movement,' of which much may, we think, be hoped, and the 'Society of the Annunciation,' which had its rise in Oxford, and has now a goodly roll of members, the 'Vacation Term for Biblical Study,' the

'Oxford Society for Religious Instruction of Teachers,'¹ the excellent work which is done for the Archbishop's Diploma, and the classes at King's College, London, for the religious instruction of women, are only illustrations among many others of the truth that women are instinctively religious, for the most part, and that it no more follows because a woman takes a 'First in Greats' that she will cease to be a Christian than it would or does follow in the case of a man. In fact, few things would seem to be better suited than a thorough 'Greats' training to make us realize the place of Christianity in thought and history. As was said long ago, 'if God does not need man's knowledge, He still less needs man's ignorance.' Here again it would take many pages to speak in detail of the very great change which has come over Oxford religious thought in the later Victorian period—a change of which the publication of *Lux Mundi* was the most noticeable indication. Both men and women of intellectual culture found it easier to accept Christianity on the lines laid down by that remarkable work, and by others of a similar tone, than they would have done twenty years earlier. The subject is too many-sided to be more than glanced at here. The emphasis laid on social problems by modern Christianity finds an eager response in the minds of thoughtful women. It cannot be denied that men and women alike often go through a period of self-questioning during those three important college years. Difficulties which they were not ripe to face at their confirmation now present themselves, and refuse to be ignored. Still, those difficulties have to be faced by us all, sooner or later, and is it not better they should be faced when the young are within reach of helpful influences, such as the University sermon, the quiet Sunday's walk or talk with a college tutor, or an older friend, the good

¹ This Society has not been long in existence, but promises well. Its object is to combine attendance at a vacation course of lectures with definite work for the 'Religious Knowledge' groups in the Oxford and Cambridge Higher Local and Oxford Pass Final Examinations. It may be noted here that the University of London also has now instituted a Certificate in Religious Knowledge.

book borrowed from the library, and the intervals of comparative leisure which sometimes occur at college, than at some later period? Experience has also shewn that the higher culture is not without its uses in fitting workers for the mission field. In India and Japan especially there is a great need of highly educated women. It would be easy, but obviously undesirable, to give the names of women from both Universities, of high training and ability, who have thus dedicated their lives. One can only pray that many more may follow their example. As the outlook of the Empire widens, as the Anglo-Saxon race spreads itself in far-off regions of the world, the need of missionaries and Church-workers, and teachers of both sexes is daily growing; and such a year as the present, which has witnessed the Pan-Anglican Congress, and has made us realize in some degree the work of our Church, the responsibilities of our race, if it does nothing else, offers abundant justification for the higher education of women, which can only become the highest if it be carried on in the spirit of an enlightened Christianity, and with the enthusiasm and largeness of view which, in the long run, faith alone can give.

ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH.

ART. V.—THE DOCTRINE OF DIVINE IMMANENCE IN NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

1. *Divine Immanence : an Essay on the Spiritual Significance of Matter.* By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1903.)
2. *Personal Idealism and Mysticism.* 'Paddock Lectures for 1906.' By W. R. INGE, M.A., D.D. Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1907.)
3. *The Christian Doctrine of God.* [In *Lux Mundi*.] By the late AUBREY MOORE, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Tutor of Magdalen and Keble Colleges. (London : John Murray, 1889.)

4. *The Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge.* By JOHN FISKE, Assistant Librarian at Harvard University. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1885.)
5. *Aspects of Theism.* By W. KNIGHT, LL.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1893.)
6. *New (?) Theology : Thoughts on the Universality and Continuity of the Doctrine of the Immanence of God.* By the Ven. BASIL WILBERFORCE, D.D., Archdeacon of Westminster, Chaplain of the House of Commons, Select Preacher before the University of Oxford. (London : Elliot Stock, 1907.)

And other Works.

I.

It is one of the commonplaces of Theology to assert that the Christian Religion teaches alike the transcendence and the immanence of God. This is the conception implied, for example, in St. Augustine's account of the Deity as One 'who with His whole Being fills and yet transcends all things.' So Erigena could think of God as beyond space and time and yet within them. So in Hildebert's well-known prayer to the Holy Trinity come the lines

' Intra cuncta, nec inclusus :

• Extra cuncta, nec exclusus.'

And amongst latter-day English teachers, whose writings on other points shew considerable divergence of view, Liddon, Martineau, John Caird, Professor Gwatkin and many others agree in regard to the necessity of combining these two aspects in our account of the Divine Nature.

The reason for the inadequacy, from the Christian standpoint, of either the one or the other view alone is, of course, equally well recognized. A Divine Being of whom transcendence but not immanence could be predicated would be either so entirely out of relation to the world as to be wholly unknowable, or, at best, so far removed from it as to be severed from all that has living interest for us, in the cold distance to which He has been relegated by the Deists. On the other hand a God immanent but not

transcendent loses at once many of the attributes of Deity and ceases, in the Pantheism which teaches the identity of God with the world, to be the object of our faith, our worship, or our love.

Theoretically, then, we must think of God as being both beyond the finite world of our experience and within it. In practice the combination is not always an easy one to maintain. One conception or the other tends naturally to become habitual. The complementary truth is not surrendered or abandoned, but it is less consciously realized. Men do not become Deists or Pantheists, but they fail to observe the mean between the two, because it is difficult to unify our conceptions of a God without and a God within. We are often wisely warned of the risks involved in the use of the metaphors of space. The false antitheses into which they may betray us are indeed obvious. It is difficult, however, to see how our thinking in matters of theology is to go on without them. And probably there is quite a real distinction between the attitude of mind which looks habitually outwards and that which tends to look within. Here is the given circle of human experience; for the one attitude the supreme spiritual fact is that experience points beyond itself; for the other, the content of this experience is in itself of paramount significance. The two are not to be set in opposition, as alternatives of which the one excludes the other; it is rather a question of stress, emphasis, proportion. And where the stress habitually falls on that which is beyond and without, there the Divine transcendence becomes the dominant feature of theology; where it falls within, a corresponding importance attaches to the Divine immanence. It is approximately true that Hebraism manifests the one tendency, Hellenism the other. For the first the relation of God to the world tends to be external, occasional, authoritative, mechanical, and God is regarded as Sovereign, Artificer, Judge, Visitor, 'Disposer Supreme.' For the second this relation is internal, constant, formative, organic, normal, such as to be expressed by the terms Life, Presence, Power, Tendency, Indwelling Will.

On the whole it has hitherto been the habit of Christian Theology to lay greater emphasis on the Divine transcendence. It has never denied the immanent Presence which from time to time has even been asserted as of predominating importance. The most notable instances of this less usual standpoint are the Alexandrian Fathers and the Mystics. Their services to the Church's knowledge of God have been great indeed and are probably better understood and more fully recognized to-day than ever before. But for various reasons they have not permanently determined the trend and tone of Christian Theology. The Alexandrians lived before the world was ready for them, and the Mystics have been too purely spiritual for the intellect of the average man and the clash of theological controversy. To the great majority of the Church's most influential teachers God's transcendent sovereignty has meant more than His never denied omnipresence. He has been regarded as the Creator, as the great Source of all morality and all law : He has spoken through Prophets and has been revealed in Christ through the Incarnation : Bible, Church and Sacraments have all been connecting links between Himself and man. The transcendence has never been so absolute as to sever all relationship. Men who have felt the majesty of the Divine Nature as strongly as Augustine or Calvin have never found their Deity escape from their grasp and hide Himself in the detached isolation of pure, unqualified, unrelated Being. But the relationship has still been conceived as external. The conception involved in the title 'He that is over all' (*ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων*) has been a stronger determinant of their mentality than that contained in the words 'in all' (*ἐν παντί*). Worship has been more natural than Communion. The whole system of Christian Theology and the common religious thought of unreflective piety have alike recognized God without rather than within, beyond rather than around.

There is a general feeling among those who study the spiritual tendencies of the time that the religious standpoint of the future will not be in all ways identical with that of the past. 'Restatement,' 'Reconstruction,'

'Modernism' are terms with a considerable circulation, and tentative efforts at effecting a harmony of the old and the new are numerous and well known. It may be doubted whether the moment for reconstruction has yet arrived, but this should not make us impatient of all preparatory experiments, provided they are honest and made by persons of sufficient qualification. The sifting process of time and discussion will deal quite effectively with all that is crude, superficial and premature. The Church's real danger lies in its indifference to our need of a new synthesis, and in such a spirit as actuated the recent Papal Encyclical. Now it is at least possible, when one has regard to the various tendencies of the present, that one feature of the Christianity of the future will be its greater emphasis on the truth of Divine immanence. It may even be that the very reconciliation of many of our present antagonisms lies in the fuller recognition of what such a truth involves. Along no other line of thought does it seem equally possible to discover and appropriate the spiritual significance of our scientific knowledge. 'L'évolution,' writes M. Loisy,¹ 'de la philosophie moderne tend de plus en plus à l'idée du Dieu immanent.' The writers whose works stand at the head of this article have this in common, that they all discern this tendency as one of the distinctive features of the present theological position. As in the past the Church has never wholly abandoned the truth of Divine immanence because it has been its habit to make more of the Divine transcendence, so it is not suggested that in the future there will be any surrender of old truths because it may more deliberately appropriate a spiritual asset which in reality has always been its own. The past history of religion offers abundant proof of the different importance which under altered conditions is given to the various elements of truth. The problems of the fourth century were not those of the sixteenth, nor were the methods and materials required for their solution identical. Assuredly the Church of the present century will have the power to appeal to many precedents if it

¹ *Autour d'un petit livre*, p. 153.

may minister peace to the minds of its puzzled children by the use of reconciling truths which have often been unused but never wholly forgotten, far less, of course, denied. In the great treasure house of reality nothing is absolutely new. But many things are there latent, hidden, undemanded, overlooked. Their full value and significance is only known when the conditions of the moment are such as to suggest their production and afford opportunity for their welcome appropriation.

If this be so and there be any probability that the doctrine of Divine immanence will exert more influence on the theology of the future than it has, on the whole, exerted in the past, there can be little doubt that such an altered proportion of the elements of Faith will raise many questions and necessitate in various quarters a certain measure of readjustment. The present article is an attempt to estimate, in a tentative fashion, the place which may be claimed for this doctrine in the Theology of the New Testament, and the modifications, if any, which it would be likely to involve in our mode of regarding certain cardinal truths of Christianity. Is the immanence of God so clearly taught in the New Testament that we may claim it as 'read therein' and 'proved thereby'? And if it should ever be so fully appropriated as to determine in any considerable degree our religious outlook, what results will follow as regards such essential elements of the Faith as the doctrine of the Incarnation, the Sacraments, the Visible Church?

To claim for the doctrine of God's immanence a place in the Theology of the New Testament is, no doubt, to take our side with those who believe that the Gospel must not be dissociated from philosophy. This is so because as a matter of fact the thought of a transcendent Deity has been more habitual to the religious attitude, the immanent conception to the philosophical. The one naturally tends to worship, the other to analysis and reflection. Dr. Wilberforce's sermons we welcome as an evidence of the great potential value of the immanent view for Religion and of its power to meet the needs of the heart and spirit

as well as to solve intellectual difficulties. But hitherto the religious significance of the doctrine has been less developed, while its philosophical aspects have been recognized by both Christian and non-Christian thinkers. Thus in regarding the Divine immanence as an element in the Gospel we are in full accord with the statement that 'Christianity has been a philosophical religion from the time when it first began to have a sacred literature,'¹ and may even find no difficulty in the claim that 'le christianisme est la plus belle des philosophies.'² This implies a corresponding dissent from Harnack's view that philosophical Christianity is secularized Christianity, and from the position, surely a strange one for Goethe³ to have adopted, that the Christian Religion has nothing to do with Philosophy. The philosophical element is, of course, more consciously developed in certain portions of the New Testament than in others, and the explicit assertion of the Divine immanence may be said to vary accordingly. It is naturally least prominent in the books written with a mainly historical purpose. In attempting to estimate the place occupied by it in the New Testament as a whole, it will be convenient to class the Synoptic Gospels with the Acts, then to consider the Pauline, and finally the Johannine writings.

II.

The religious conceptions which underlie the first three Gospels and the Acts are nearer than those which find expression in the Epistles and the Fourth Gospel to the theology of the Old Testament. It is in accordance with this that the relation of God to the world, though constant and close, is still in the main a relation from above. His Will is often revealed through the intermediate agency of angels. He pours out the Spirit upon His servants. He visits His people rather than dwells among them. He speaks on special occasions in a vision. Hence a thing

¹ Inge, *Personal Idealism*, p. 152.

² Loisy, *Autour d'un petit livre*, p. 126.

³ Cf. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, i. 386 (1902 edition).

is either 'of heaven or of men,' and sharply cut distinction separates the growths which the Divine Husbandman has planted from those which, like Phariseism, have been cultivated by human hands. If it be urged that the relation of the Ruler to His world is at times regarded as so intimate as to secure practically all that is guaranteed by the immanent conception, this may be granted, without, however, allowing that it is a matter of indifference whether the ruling idea be that of a God without or that of a God within.

The narrative writers contribute less than other New Testament authors to the doctrine of a Divine immanence; but exceptional passages in which such a view is involved do occur and are always of interest. If apart from Him no sparrow falls to the ground, if the flowers of the field reveal His care and the sunlight be an expression of His beneficent Will, if He not only in a remote past created the world but also gives constant evidence of His presence in the cycle of the seasons (Acts xiv. 17), and if the power at work in Nature is so closely parallel in its operation to the Power which works in the things of the Spirit as our Lord's constant choice of natural processes for His parables would imply, then it may fairly be claimed that in simple and pictorial language we have here a philosophy of the natural world which is at any rate not incompatible with the central thought of Mr. Fiske's well-known and suggestive essay on 'The Idea of God.' Moreover we often find in these books suggestions of an idea more fully developed by St. Paul. The border line between Divine and human agency seems at times to vanish and there remains no distinction between what man does for God and what God does through man. The Spirit of the Father speaks in the Apostles (St. Matt. x. 20). God accomplishes miracles by the hands of Paul, and works among the Gentiles through his ministry (Acts xix. 11; xxi. 19). St. Peter rejects, almost with a touch of scorn, the idea of a cure effected without Divine co-operation (Acts iii. 12), and the mighty works of the Lord Jesus are done 'with the finger of God.'

Probably it would be as unwise to derive theories of personality from the Synoptic Gospels as it is to base scientific opinions on the cosmogony of Genesis. There is, however, a certain legitimate interest in noticing particular phrases which accord with the view of God's immanence in human personality—a view which may be frankly admitted to require a far wider basis than incidental expressions even in Scripture for its authority and support. If, again, the principle that nothing can act where it is not may be held good in Theology as in Metaphysics, then the indwelling Presence of God is implied by the ease with which events and principles of life are referred in these books to Divine agency. Thus it is essentially the nature of God's kingdom to be within. It is so intimately related to man's life that it comes upon him without his recognizing it, as especially happened in its supreme manifestation in the Christ. The action of leaven and the growth of a seed are appropriate figures for representing the mode of Divine action. God is said to have cleansed the kinds of meat which Peter has realized to be no longer forbidden as unclean. God is recognized as so present in the efforts of His servants that it is useless to attempt to thwart them (Acts v. 39). 'This is the Lord's doing' may be said of spiritual principles as they express themselves in definite historical events (St. Matt. xxi. 42). A resolution formally passed after due deliberation by the assembled Church is said to be a resolution determined by the Holy Spirit *and* the members, while the words of a prophet of no very unusual distinction are claimed without dissent as an utterance of the Spirit (Acts xv. 28 ; xxi. 11). To St. Paul's sermon at Lystra reference has already been made. Some mention may here be added of his other appeal, in Athens, to the principles of Natural Religion, unless indeed we ought rather to speak of both in connexion with writings of Pauline rather than of Lucan authorship. However that may be, the implications of his address on the Areopagus are notable and of recognized importance. The Apostle's conception (Acts xvii. 24-31) is that of a God with whom man, as man, may claim spiritual kinship. He is far more near to everyone of us than, in our

grasping and groping after One Whom we imagine to be very remote, we usually find it possible to realize. His Presence is so intimately connected with the world that all man's life, all movement, all existence may be said to be in God. Twice over in this short passage a term (*ὑπάρχειν*) is used which expresses that such is the essential, fundamental character of the subject in question. It is here alone in the New Testament that the term 'the Divine' (*τὸ θεῖον*) is employed. Even if the Apostle selected a philosophical term in view of the special character of his audience, he would hardly have gone so far in concession as to use a phrase whose connotation he would not have been willing to accept, and the word, taken in the connexion in which it stands, implies a diffused abiding, spiritual Presence or Divinity.

This summary of the principal ways in which the doctrine of a Divine immanence is taught even by those writers in the New Testament with whom it is least prominent may well close with some reference to their teaching about the work and Person of the Lord. For them, as for all Christian Theology, Christ is the full, perfect and complete expression of truths which are elsewhere manifested 'by divers portions and in divers manners' (*πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*), but always in a form that lacks finality. So He is Emmanuel, 'God with us,' and it is through Him that we have the fullest apprehension of God's indwelling Presence of which our nature is capable. For to receive Christ is to receive Him who sent Christ (St. Matt. x. 40) and it is through the Son (St. Luke x. 22) that we receive the unveiling of the Father, whose Presence beforetime was not so much wanting as unrealized and veiled. And even as God is in Christ so is Christ in those who do His work. To receive those whom Christ sends is to receive Him by Whom Christ was sent. Even in the person of a little child we may find the indwelling Presence (St. Matt. xxv. 40). It is the same Presence which is realized where two or three gather together and wherever else His servants find themselves all down the course of the days that make the years. (St. Matt. xxviii. 20). The men who wrote or compiled the

Synoptic Gospels and the Acts had no intention of taking sides on a question which belongs properly to the Philosophy of Religion. Their main interest was to preserve for future memory the precious record of the deeds and words of the Lord Jesus and those to whom He immediately entrusted the continuation of His work. Their interest is mainly historical; it is also to some extent ethical, with such special affinities as the first Gospel betrays for the Old Testament or the third for the principles of Humanity. It is not primarily a didactic interest, far less is it consciously philosophical. The more striking, therefore, is the fact that even in these portions of Scripture the doctrine of the indwelling God appears to be clearly expressed from time to time. It is indeed so intimately connected with the Christian standpoint that by the denial of it there would arise at once a whole series of contradictions and difficulties even in the writings of those who by their purpose and temperament were farthest removed from deliberate appropriation of its truth.

III.

It is in the Pauline Epistles, with which for our present purpose it will be convenient to class the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the thought of God's immanence finds its fullest and its most varied expression. It is closely related to the Apostle's Christology and to his view of the Christ-life as finding its realization and development in the Church. But it is also implied in certain passages in which he speaks of the natural world and of humanity apart from the Christian re-interpretation of man's nature through the Gospel. God is apprehended in the Cosmos. His eternal power and Godhead (Rom. i. 19 *seq.*) are so expressed and involved in His handiwork that while in one sense they transcend the grasp of human faculties, in another they are the direct objects of man's mind and vision. That is to say, in Nature we apprehend Him whom we never comprehend, and the poor account to which, in the Apostle's judgement, the ancient world had turned this glorious revelation is no

detraction from the reality of the immanent Godhead so revealed. Further than this the Power manifested in Nature is not only an embodiment: it is also a Divine activity. There is a striking anticipation of much that has been written since the days of Darwin in the great passage (Rom. viii. 19-23) in which the Apostle speaks of the spiritual purpose of the effort and struggle which even he recognized in the processes of the natural world. It is the work of the Spirit of which he speaks; and the key to the travail and apparent ineffectiveness (*ματαιότης*) of Nature, which had puzzled St. Paul exactly as it puzzled Tennyson, is that the whole process is an onward movement, involving a consciously expected result and directed towards the attainment of this by the indwelling agency for which Religion can find no other adequate name than God. These two passages in the Epistle to the Romans imply so much and gain so much greater significance when they are taken in connexion with what is said in later Epistles about the cosmic functions of the Christ, that their value for religious philosophy is out of all proportion to their limited extent. It is possibly a characteristic of St. Paul that his most precious contributions to our knowledge of things spiritual are often given quite incidentally. Much at any rate there is in his brief references to the world of Nature which even the modern mind may study and ponder with advantage. At the heart of the Cosmos, as the indwelling source of its life and as the intelligence which foresees and purposes its yet unrealized stages, is the God who worketh all in all and whose Will is the ultimate directive agency in every single detail of its story (Eph. i. 11).

Such is the Apostle's splendid apprehension of the Divine in the Natural. His view of Humanity, while it can never of course be rightly understood apart from his interpretation of man's true nature as revealed in the perfect Manhood of the Christ, is still of interest if by drawing an arbitrary line we consider it from the standpoint of purely natural religion. Where no revelation of the Divine Will has come to men by external authority they still possess the inner guidance of nature (Rom. ii. 14), and in regulating

their action by its influence attain to the same result. In the words of an older teacher the Apostle regards the Divine utterance as 'in man's mouth and in his heart' (Rom. x. 8). Every family (Eph. iii. 14, 15) on earth, as indeed beyond it, is by virtue of its human fatherhood an expression of the all-embracing Divine principle of the Fatherhood of God. So close, too, is the connexion between man's life and God that all the varied forms of civil authority (Rom. xiii. 1), of the value of which St. Paul was so fully aware, are attributed without hesitation to the Divine order, an order which it is his frequent habit to regard as determining life from within. In such expressions as they occur throughout his Epistles St. Paul may be said to interpret and give concrete meaning to the principle already noticed, that man, as man, if only he may understand himself, lives and moves and has his being in God. The Gospel to the Apostle was of such overwhelming significance and value that it is the more remarkable to find how much he is at times prepared to claim for human nature apart from its redemption and perfection through Christ. Or perhaps, as we are about to see, it is more true to say that for St. Paul it was impossible to think of humanity apart from Christ.

This brings us to the doctrine of God's immanence as related to the Apostle's Christology. In reference to this it may be remarked at once that St. Paul does not invariably observe accurate and consistent distinctions between the functions of the three Persons of the Trinity. Broadly, of course, the Creative, Redemptive and Sanctifying offices may be said to be recognized by him as proper to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit respectively; but the indwelling of God in humanity is often taught without reference to the distinction of the Persons, the term 'dwell' (*οἰκεῖν*) and its compounds being used of all three alike (2 Cor. vi. 16; Eph. iii. 17; Rom. viii. 9). Thus his modes of expression are an evidence of his realization of the Divine Unity; for the essential Oneness of the Godhead, even in its relation to human life, was more clearly held by St. Paul than has sometimes been the case in the course of sub-

sequent Theology. At any rate for the understanding of the Apostle's mind in regard to the immanence of God the distinctions within the Godhead must frequently remain unemphasized. His principal contributions in this connexion lie in his teaching on the cosmic functions of the Christ and in his account of the relationship of the Divine and the human in the Church.

The most important passage in St. Paul's writings in regard to the former of these two subjects is undoubtedly Col. i. 15-19, with which the similar teaching of Heb. i. 2-3 should be associated. The ideas in each case are Alexandrian in character, and though the term itself is not used, the doctrine of the Logos is unquestionably in the mind of the writers. The essentials of this doctrine find clear expression in the New Testament, in spite of the fact that it appears to receive only brief and occasional treatment when we compare the fuller realization of its significance in Philo and in Clement. In this doctrine the truth of Divine immanence receives the most deliberate and philosophical statement which the New Testament writers anywhere accord to it. It always involves the thought of the transcendent and absolute Deity finding expression, relation, self-projection, and activity in time through the instrumentality of the Word. The two aspects of the Divine Nature, its transcendence and its immanence, are both implied in the fundamental conception of the Logos: the former because without the Logos God must abide eternally self-existent, self-contained, without the limitation of contact with the finite, in the majestic, colourless solitude of absolute existence; the latter, because through the Logos He not only creates and sustains the finite universe but also lives within it as the supreme directive agency of all its process. Let any one take the three Greek terms which we render 'image,' 'effulgence,' 'very image,'¹ and follow up their philosophical implications, and he will realize, on the one hand, how deeply the necessity for mediation was felt at the era of the Incarnation, and, on the other, how intimate and how adequate is the relation

¹ 'εἰκών,' 'ἀπαύγασμα,' 'χαρακτήρ.'

between the Godhead and the World which is effected and guaranteed in the Person and office of the Word. The Divine immanence in the Cosmos is apprehended in two of its many aspects when we read in the one of these Epistles that 'in Him all things consist,' and in the other find the Son described as 'bearing all things.' The coherence of the Universe, all the intricate relation of part to part and of every element to the whole, its consistency with itself and its consequent capability of being the object of reasoned knowledge, the supreme fact that physically and intelligibly the world is an order, are the outcome, not only of an original creative Activity but also, and more immediately, of the indwelling Power which holds together all things in coherent unity and apart from which a state of chaotic dissolution must inevitably come about. Such is the cosmic function of the Word implied in St. Paul's use of the term 'consist' (*συνέστηκεν*). But this static conception is not the whole truth, and dynamic activity is implied in the word found in Heb. i. 3 'bearing all things' (*φέρων τὰ πάντα*). For the term implies not only a sustaining power, but also a power which causes movement. Its parallel use (Heb. vi. 1) in regard to man's advance towards spiritual perfection is worth noting, for every process, whether in the domain of Grace or of Nature, is regulated by the same immanent agency. In regard to the Cosmos, all sequence of cause and effect, all development, all change, all the disintegration which makes reconstruction possible, every tendency towards ends desired but not yet realized, are implicitly recognized as the work of the Logos in this unobtrusive yet deeply significant expression. We may place side by side with this important element in New Testament Theology the following sentence from a modern writer: 'Every process, however humble, which takes place in nature between one thing and another does so through the constant co-operation of the one true reality and through that alone. This reality we in religion term God.'¹ When we bear in mind the great advance in our knowledge of the methods of Nature which distinguishes the modern from the ancient

¹ Lotze, *The Philosophy of Religion*, p. 106.

world, it is little short of astonishing that there should be, in all essential points, such agreement as to the ultimate interpretation of Nature between a representative modern writer and the New Testament.

The work of Christ in the Cosmos has its counterpart in His relation to the Church. The two are placed in juxtaposition by the Apostle (Col. i. 16-18). In each the same immanent activity operates. The primacy in the one, as in the other, belongs to Christ. The language of the Epistles in describing the Divine Power as it works in the corporate life of the Church and in the soul of the individual is varied, and, as we remarked above, it is not possible in this connexion to draw any rigid distinction between the use of the terms 'Christ,' 'Spirit,' 'Lord,' and 'God.' 'The Spirit of God dwelleth in you' (Rom. viii. 9), 'Christ is in you' (2 Cor. xiii. 5), 'God is in you' (1 Cor. xiv. 25) are interchangeable expressions for the same fact. The figures most constantly employed are those of 'a house,' 'a shrine,' and 'a body,' none of which can be understood apart from its purpose to afford shelter or environment to that which resides within. Sometimes we hear of the gradual formation (Gal. iv. 19) of this inward Christ and of the Divine Power's operation in all spiritual growth.¹ Sometimes the constant activity of the indwelling Deity is enforced.² In other expressions man is said to participate in the Divine life diffused throughout the whole, since believers are 'partakers of Christ,' 'μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ' (Heb. iii. 14), and 'of Christ' as Christ is 'of God' (1 Cor. iii. 23). In two well-known passages the personal identity of the believer seems to be almost merged in the Divine life and activity which are operant within him. It is not Paul who lives, but the Christ in Paul (Gal. ii. 20). And it is not human effort that secures salvation, but the God who works in man, both informing his will and prompting his action (Phil. ii. 13). The singularly interesting interpretation which the Dean

¹ ὁ αὐξάνων θεός, 1 Cor. iii. 7.

² As for example by the constant use of the term ἐνεργεῖν and its cognates.

of Westminster has given of Ephesians i. 23 suggests the idea of an indwelling Power which finds a gradual and ever-growing measure of fulfilment: the life of Christ is not a thing perfect and completed, the very Christ indeed only attains the realization of His nature through His progressive actuality in the life of the Church and humanity. For St. Paul will draw no rigid limits: the Divine life which has its supreme expression in the historic Incarnation, and which is realized with conscious intention in the organization of the Christian society, is not confined by these particular embodiments of its activity. He finds Christ in the spiritual experiences of Israel (1 Cor. x. 4), and other writers also find Him in the lives of Moses (Heb. xi. 26) and the prophets (1 Peter i. 11). When he speaks of the work of the indwelling Divinity in relation to the Church and the individual believer, his thought naturally takes a more religious and less philosophical tone and phraseology than when he is speaking of the same activity as he conceived it operant in the Cosmos. But the essential principle of his meaning is the same. St. Paul is not by mental temperament a writer given to synthesis, nor is it his wont to gather all his materials into an harmonious setting regulated by one idea. But the synthesis may be made without doing violence to the Apostle's meaning, and his cosmic theory has an inner kinship with his Christian doctrine. Dr. Inge¹ does well to point out the importance of the Logos doctrine in St. Paul's theology; it is difficult, indeed, to account for the almost entire neglect in modern religious teaching of the Pauline view of the relation of Christ to the world. Unfortunate as this is, it is not beyond remedy, for readers of the second and third *Paddock Lectures* can hardly fail to realize how singularly in harmony with many of the distinctive convictions of our age is this suggestive element in the Apostle's teaching. To which perhaps may appropriately be added a reference to the Dean of Westminster's remark² that the Epistle to the Ephesians is of 'pre-eminent interest in the present day.'

¹ *Personal Idealism* (Paddock Lectures), p. 50, *seq.*

² *Commentary on Ephesians*, p. 14.

IV.

In the Johannine Scriptures the doctrine of God's immanence finds its main recognition in the Prologue to the Gospel and in the first Epistle. The form of statement is philosophical in the one, devotional and mystical in the other. No doubt the relation of the Prologue to the rest of the Gospel presents us with a question of some difficulty,¹ but it is possible and legitimate to consider the Prologue by itself, and there is no passage in the whole range of the Scriptures of deeper meaning and significance. For our own purpose it is only necessary to point out once again the implications of some of the well-known phrases in this profound exordium. As in the Pauline theology, so here the original creative agency of the Word is perpetuated by His abiding and sustaining Presence. All 'genesis,' all coming into being, is effected, regulated, determined by Him. Separate from Him, nothing whatever enters into the domain of existence. However little the fact had been recognized, the Cosmos was His, and He from its first origin had been ever in it as the indwelling, sustaining Power apart from whose activity the finite and the temporal had not been. He is the Light wherever there is vision. He is the Life wherever there is organic being. Elsewhere we are reminded that He is Love wherever human or Divine persons are united in the fellowship which He creates. And just as He is the universal Power actuating the whole cosmos from within, so for the individual He is the inborn Illumination. That which morally and intellectually every man must have or be if he is to come within the category of Humanity belongs to him by the indwelling Word. According to an interpretation which is probably correct, there is a constant process: from its transcendent source the light comes and comes and perpetually comes: He is 'Light of Light' and the Giver of Light, so intimately penetrating the world-order that every man shares to some measure in His gracious and diffused influence. The thought of the

¹ Beyschlag (*N.T. Theology*, ii. 428, German ed.) speaks of the Logos as 'eine halb fremdbleibende Idee.'

Prologue is so far-reaching in its implications, the great principles of its writer's philosophy (wherever he may have learned them) are so wide in their range, that it is best to leave this great passage, at once so fragmentary and so complete, without fuller discussion than is involved in pointing out how far removed it is in its every conception from the view which represents the relation of God to the world as spasmodic, external, mechanical, arbitrary : rather 'without Him was not anything made that hath been made.'¹

The first of the three Johannine Epistles affords us the highest and fullest expression to be found in the New Testament of the doctrine of Divine immanence in relation to the individual. To whatever extent it is true that the distinguishing feature of this Epistle is its express polemic against false teachers, at least this purpose has in no way conflicted with the writer's deep sense of the inward harmony of religious experience. The outward antagonism of the world has no counterpart for him in the soul that is born of God. He is at one with St. Paul in giving the position of first value to the grace or power of Love, and Love throughout has its ground and explanation in that intimate and reciprocal relation which exists between God and man. As in Pauline language 'in Christ' and 'Christ in us' are alternative expressions for the same fact of spiritual experience, so in the Johannine phraseology He abides in us and we in Him (I. ii. 28; iv. 16, etc.) These two frequent and correlative modes of statement imply some sort of inner communion in which the distinction between the human self and the Divine Presence is no longer discernible : the God in man becomes indistinguishable from the man in God. This fundamental thought of the Epistle finds its chief expression in those many passages in which, as above remarked, God is said to 'abide' in man. Perhaps it is the characteristic difference of temperament between the two great teachers which makes 'abiding' a favourite term with St. John, whereas St. Paul, in speaking of the same immanent Power or Presence, prefers an expression implying activity.² At any rate, the reiterated use of the word

¹ *χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν.*

² *μένειν, ἐνεργεῖν.*

is significant and gives its own tone to the Epistle, though the idea underlies also many other phrases. Thus there is a fellowship (*κοινωνία* I. i. 3) between man and God. A higher life (iii. 15), a Divine Seed (iii. 9), a Spiritual Unction (ii. 27) from above are within¹ the believer : he is born of God, and this kinship with Him results in the life of righteous action, in the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah, in love, and in the victory over the world. 'The Word abideth in you' (so reads the Vatican MS. of ii. 14) recalls the Prologue to the Gospel, and may be a testimony, possibly unconscious on the part of the writer, to the identity of the Power which determines the order of the Cosmos with the indwelling Presence through which the believer realizes his own true self and the life that is born of God. These are the main features of the doctrine of Divine immanence as we find it embodied in the first of the Johannine Epistles. It was not given to the writer to carry his principle beyond the limited circle of the Church as he knew it. Unlike St. Paul, he has no hope for the world ; the dividing line between the Church and the world is sharper here than anywhere else in the New Testament. Such a limitation was imposed upon him by his circumstances. It may be even said to have had its advantages. For possibly the very hostility and darkness of the outer world, as he understood it, tend to deepen and to give reality to his conception of that abiding immanent Life and Presence, whose modes of operation are so infinitely wider than this particular teacher conceived them to be, but which still for us, as for him, is nowhere known and experienced so spiritually and so intimately as in the relation of the soul to God through Christ.

Our attempt to estimate the extent to which the New Testament writers recognize the doctrine of the immanence of God might no doubt be protracted to greater length, but the collection of more particular passages and expressions would probably prove tedious ; and those above cited either make the recognition of that principle abundantly clear, or, if they fail to do so, no other evidence available would be likely to prove conclusive. It may, however, be

¹ μένειν, again, in each case.

worth while to add that there is an interest, from our present standpoint, in St. James' phrase, 'the implanted word' (i. 21), and a like interest in the statement (2 Peter i. 4) that we are 'partakers of the Divine nature.' Possibly too special attention might be directed to our Lord's argument in St. John x. 34, where, to the charge that, being a man, He made Himself God, He replies, 'Is it not written in your law, I said Ye are gods?' The reference is to the office of the judges, and Bishop Westcott recognizes the passage as implying that even in the Old Testament there was 'a preparation for that union of God and man which Christ came to complete.' Once again, if it be urged that the Logos doctrine always implies an utter division between the world and the absolute Godhead, which can only be bridged by the intermediate agency of the Word, the saying, 'My Father worketh even until now, and I work' (St. John v. 17, *cf.* xiv. 10), might be quoted as proving that this theory, even if rigidly logical, cannot be asserted without qualification in regard to this doctrine as we find it in the New Testament. And finally it will not be out of place to recall the exceedingly interesting saying of the Lord recorded in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus: 'Raise the stone and there thou shalt find Me, cleave the wood and there am I.' These passages all have their interest in relation to the question of Divine immanence, and their implications deserve consideration. For our present purpose enough has probably been said. It is the aim of this article to shew that the doctrine of the immanence of God is an integral part of the Theology of the New Testament. It is taught, and still more often implied, even in the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts. It is an element far more important than we have usually realized in the Pauline Theology. It is a dominant feature in two of the most distinctive sections of the Johannine books. While the transcendent nature of the Supreme and Absolute Deity is never forgotten, it is still, on New Testament evidence, a doctrine true alike for the Cosmos, for the Church, and for the Individual that their being, their life, their development and their activities are regulated and directed by a Presence, a Power, a Person, or what-

ever other more adequate term may be found to express the nature of that inward Reality which is evidenced by all phenomena and for which ultimately we know no other name than God.

V.

It remains to ask the question, What consequences will follow if Christian Theology in the near future should assign a higher degree of prominence to the truth of the *immanence* of God? It will hardly be denied that this conception has been a real element of the Church's thought, for Christianity is not Deism, and Divine immanence can securely claim an abundant measure of that early anticipation which Newman regarded as one important test of the legitimate development of doctrine. Further than this, it will scarcely be denied by any one who appreciates the present position of religious philosophy that the doctrine, if true, can hardly be left permanently in its present condition as a truth to be admitted, tolerated, ignored and forgotten. It is either untrue, or it has far-reaching consequences. We must either deny it or assimilate it. We must either go back and commit ourselves anew to the view of God's relation to the world as external, mechanical, occasional, or else it is not only a necessity but also the line of our truest apologetic to assert in the interest of the Christian interpretation of the Universe the great results which are the outcome of the doctrine of the immanence of God. We shall attempt, at least in outline, to bring this unasserted element of our Theology into connexion with our acknowledged beliefs in regard to the Incarnation, the Church and the Sacraments. Two preliminary difficulties, may, however, first be noted, one of which is raised from the standpoint of the Christian moralist, the other from that of philosophy.

It is objected that the doctrine of Divine immanence leaves no place for Moral Evil and diminishes the sense of sin, that it is consequently a theory which does not take account of all the facts of experience, and that for

practical morality it is evidently liable to have disastrous results. It may, of course, be readily admitted that in dealing with any theory of ultimate principles either in religion or philosophy we have to be perpetually on our guard lest, in accepting what appear to be the certain consequences of such principles, we follow the deductive pathway till it lead us into a position of futile and dangerous opposition to the concrete realities of immediate experience. The pragmatist would here have good reason to raise his voice of protest. By such an *à priori* road the Calvinist has arrived at the denial of human freedom, the Christian Scientist at the rejection of the reality of pain, and it is equally possible for the believer in God's omnipresence to bring himself by a similar method to the assertion that by his cardinal principle there is no room left for anything that is alien to the eternal and all-pervading Goodness.

The true answer to this objection does not lie in the discovery of logical flaws in the process of deduction so much as in considering whether the objection, if valid, is not equally valid against any belief in God at all. Somehow or other we have to accept, in the present stage of our knowledge, the Antinomy or Dualism which is involved in our belief, on the one hand, in a God of absolute and all-powerful Goodness, and in our experience, on the other, of those many elements in the physical and moral universe which seem wholly alien to any such fundamental article of faith. No theory of Evil has yet succeeded in explaining this apparent discord so as to satisfy the instinctive demand of the human spirit for coherent unity in its interpretation of the Cosmos. But the difficulty is not in reality greater when God is conceived as immanent than when the conception of His transcendence predominates. At first sight, perhaps, it seems easier to find place and opportunity for Evil when we relegate the Divine Being to the remote positions of Creator and Judge than when we regard Him as the immanent, ever-active, all-pervading Reason, Reality and Life. The distance which separates Heaven and Earth, the immeasurable series of the years which the evolution of the Cosmos from its first creation to the present moment

must demand, seem to afford possibilities for moral lapse which we might think were utterly precluded by the belief in a God who is at no moment and in no place wholly absent from His world. Yet in reality it is just as difficult to admit an initial defect in the original plan as it is to allow a failure in the subsequent process. Neither admission, of course, if evil be absolutely evil, is compatible with perfect Goodness and unlimited Power. And if, to secure these, we fall back on less positive theories of Evil, if it is the necessary concomitant of human freedom, if it is the antithesis to goodness, by which alone goodness can be learned and understood, if it is only an inevitable survival of earlier stages in the development, if it is in reality negative only in its essential character, or if, again, it is the resisting material through the medium of which alone the Good can be realized in concrete finite form, then the theory of God's immanence is as compatible with any one of these partial explanations of the problem as is the view which regards Him as the external Creator, Director, Sovereign of the world. Of the relation of Divine immanence to human freedom more may be said in the next paragraph ; in regard to the other views above mentioned, if Evil be the antithesis involved in the existence of Goodness, if it be a survival necessarily incident to all advancing process, if it be negative, or if, again, it be due to the opposition, in Aristotelian language, of the Matter to the Form (which still can only be realized in and through the material that is its opportunity as well as its limitation), then there is nothing in any of these several hypotheses which shuts out the possibility of God's immanence. The relation of the Absolute, the intermingling of the Infinite with the finite, of the One with the many, of the Divine with the temporal, the natural and the human, are never devoid of theoretical difficulties, and no statements of the relationship are without their defects. In so far, however, as the problem of Evil and the fact of Sin are concerned, Divine immanence is involved in no greater contradictions than a theory of Divine origin. Nor is there real danger lest any theory should lead to the denial or oblivion of that which is so

profoundly matter of experience as the opposition, entirely valid at least for our present stage of development, between Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, the Higher and the Lower Ways.

The second objection is raised on different grounds. Divine immanence, so far as this is asserted in regard of human nature, is held to be incompatible with the independence of the human personality. Dr. Rashdall¹ has written strongly on the danger involved in so far identifying the human with the Divine as to set down human action to God's account. Certainly if the belief in Divine immanence is to lead us to place a Borgia on a level with the Saints and to minimize the distinction between Christ and Judas, the less we hear of it, more especially in our pulpits, the better. That the doctrine is liable to be pressed to undue conclusions and that it has tendencies and affinities which are Pantheistic may be admitted, just as there are dangers to be admitted in every account of the Divine Nature, necessarily partial, one-sided and inadequate as each of these alone must be. It may be granted also that the very term 'immanence' implies something not Divine in which God is immanent, and that such immanence is not so all-pervading as to preclude its being liable to the very widest differences in point of degree. The warning of Dr. Rashdall's article is certainly in season; but if no truth is to be appropriated and developed because of its liability to dangerous exaggeration there would surely be an end to all progress in our theological thinking. Probably no more need be asked than is conceded when it is 'granted that there is some immanence of God in every man,' and when this is granted the problem is raised at once, How is such an indwelling Presence compatible with the autonomy of the human personality?

The problem which is thus raised is, of course, a very old one, more especially in its relation to the will; indeed, it has been truly remarked² that 'both philosophy

¹ Cf. *Contemporary Review*, June 1907, 'The Alleged Immanence of God.'

² Pringle Patterson (A. Seth), *Hegelianism and Personality*, p. 162.

and religion bear ample testimony to the almost insuperable difficulty of finding room in the universe for God *and* man.' For while on the one hand we have to guard against any such denial of human responsibility as would be involved by claiming Divine agency as the operant cause in our mistaken acts of choice, we have on the other to recognize such phases of experience as occur when the individual consciously realizes that he is the medium of a higher Life and Power than he can claim as personally his own. It has been already observed that St. Paul was no stranger to this truth (*cf.* Gal. ii. 20 ; Phil. ii. 13). And it may be that those modern writers are on the right road who tell us that our conception of Personality tends to be too rigid and exclusive. Certainly it is a permanent danger of theological thought that we often unconsciously transfer to Personality as it is in God many of those limitations which condition it in our own experience. They are not always inevitable limitations necessarily attaching themselves to Personality as such, however difficult it may be to deduct from our habit of thought the consequences of the fact that we realize our own personality through the medium of individual or particular bodily organisms. And while the problem is one far too wide for adequate discussion within the limits of such an article as the present, it may at least be observed that there are competent authorities ready to claim that God should not be shut out of our finite identity and ready to question the entire necessity of the modern conception of 'rigid impenetrable personality' so far as our individual self-knowledge is concerned. Professor Knight's chapter 'Comprehension *v.* Exclusion' is well worth attention, and there is much that is admirably written in Dr. Inge's lecture on the Problem of Personality. If the doctrine of the immanence of God involves, as is admitted, some blending of the Divine with the human in man's nature, these writers at least make it clear that there are not wanting philosophical grounds of justification for the 'I, yet not I' which is so ineradicable a factor of the higher religious experience. This wholly inadequate mention of a real difficulty is perhaps worth making in

acknowledgement of the problem as one not to be forgotten nor ignored.

VI.

Christian Theology in reasserting the full significance of the doctrine of the immanence of God will lie under no consequent compulsion to abandon its past heritage of belief. It is the main defect, indeed, of what has been termed the 'New Theology,' not that it lacks important elements of truth but that it exhibits so crude and facile a disregard of the principle of continuity and of the great legacies of truth which have come down to us from earlier days. But we may shift the stress and emphasis of our thinking and find the Divine immanence a suggestive and fruitful principle for our religious thought, without any danger of losing such positive elements in our Theology as the doctrines of the Incarnation, the Church, and the Sacraments. We shall see them in a new light, perhaps, and certainly with wider relations. But we need be in no peril of reducing Religion to so vague and undefined an apprehension of a diffused Presence as to lose our grasp upon the reality of its concrete and particular manifestations.

The Incarnation loses nothing of its supreme significance by being associated with a conception of Nature and of Humanity which regards God as already immanent in both. The difference which does result from such a standpoint is that what once seemed an event isolated and unique is recognized to have in different degrees its precedents, its correspondences, its affinities; and that, so far from being a reversal of the world-order or a departure wholly new, the Incarnation marks a stage in a continuous process and relates itself by the closest identities of principle to the cosmic order and the evolution of humanity. Everywhere we have to do with a God known to us in self-imposed limitations which while they limit also reveal Him. That is the essence of the Kenosis. That is also the ultimate truth in the spiritual interpretation of the universe and of man. In itself the claim is no new one

which asserts the affinity of the Incarnation with God's other manifestations of Himself. It is made in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel: 'He was in the world,' 'He came unto His own.' It is made in the Epistle to the Hebrews: the same God speaks through the Prophets and through the Son, while the historic Character is essentially one with the Power which directs all process. There were no meaning else in the dictum '*Novum Testamentum in vetere latet*,' and from time to time Theology has been profoundly aware of the wide significance of its own assertions. So, for example, Clement of Alexandria does not shrink from asserting the identity of the great Educator of Humanity and the Divine Artificer, who throughout the universe operates from within, with the historic Person known to us in the Gospels. Students of the Schoolmen tell us that in their view of the relation of the Incarnation to the indwelling Presence of the Word in the universe and in man, they are 'substantially unanimous,' since for them 'Every creature is a theophany,' and 'Every creature is a Divine word, for it tells of God.'¹ And among modern English writers there has recently been abundant recognition of the same great truth. Let any one who should doubt this read, for example, Canon Liddon's² account of the relation of the Incarnation to Creation, or study the implication of Dean Strong's³ recognition of the Incarnation as in 'organic continuity with the progress of the world,' or consider such a passage as the following from the Bishop of Birmingham's Bampton Lecture⁴ on 'Christ supernatural yet natural,' in which he writes: 'If, then, we speak of the Incarnation as the crown of natural development in the universe, and in accordance with its law, we are not using a language new to Christianity.' It is indeed only by its close affinity to other elements in our experience that the Incarnation has meaning and value for us. And among the *desiderata* of Religion at the

¹ Cf. J. R. Illingworth, 'The Incarnation and Development,' in *Lux Mundi*, p. 135.

² Bampton Lectures, pp. 268-9. ³ *A Manual of Theology*, p. 46.

⁴ *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, p. 43.

present time is perhaps a fuller consideration of the relationship, correspondence, and identity between the Word made flesh and the Power whom elsewhere also we recognize as the guiding, operant, creative Force and Life. In what connexion are we to place the statements 'God was in Christ,' 'God is in you'? How are we to adjust our idea of the energy known to Science and the moral motive Power known to Religion? When Christian theology has asserted the hypostatic union of the Son with the Father, what account in equally technical phraseology is it prepared to give us of the union of Man with God? It sometimes seems as if after asserting that the Incarnation is the key to our understanding of the Universe, we had been strangely reluctant to turn the lock and boldly fling open the door to the higher interpretation of Nature and of Man. Reverence, no doubt, has arrested us on the threshold. We have hesitated, rightly, to minimize the distance between God and Nature, between Christ and ourselves. But the question remains whether it is not, perhaps, a lack of consistency and also a timid lack of Faith which leads us first to accept the great principle of God's immanent Presence, and then to relegate it to so subordinate a position in our thought of things spiritual that we make little effort to relate the Incarnation of our Lord to those many other modes of the Divine self-manifestation.

Or let us ask, in what way does the conception of God's immanence affect our view of the Christian Church? Not certainly so as to diminish our recognition of the Church as a divinely ordained Society for the realization of the Christian life. If the teaching of Jesus left it clear that the Gospel message was to be universal and no longer restricted to a particular race, an organization which should leave national gifts and characteristics perfectly free scope and yet transcend them in its conception of a higher unity became a necessity and has remained so ever since. The modern religious world indeed is strangely divided in its conception of the Church and in its definitions of the essentials of the Divine Society. But however various are the views men hold as to historical succession or the limits of

lawful diversity or the relation of the visible Church to the invisible or the subordination, or otherwise, of National Churches to the Church Universal, it is clear that the purely individualistic conception of religion is not likely to regain its old ascendancy. The way in which non-Episcopal bodies of Christians have recently adopted the term 'Church' is a singularly interesting by-product of the teaching of the Oxford Movement. The 'Modernists' of Rome are emphatic in their intention to remain within the Communion of their baptism. Their loyalty to their conception of the Church has, indeed, much to teach liberal Anglicans, whose liberalism is often so surprisingly devoid of any appreciation of the greatness of their heritage and of the force of the Greek proverb: 'Sparta is your lot: adorn Sparta.'¹

From this cardinal conception of the Church as a Society in which the Christian life is consciously and deliberately realized the thought of God's immanence detracts nothing; it only modifies old views, when they add to their lawful claims on behalf of the Church's purpose and ideals unlawful denials regarding other areas of human activity. No one, for example, who believed in God's immanence could hold in its original sense the mediaeval principle 'extra ecclesiam nulla salus.' No one who recognized the New Testament principle of the universal Fatherhood of God, and of the 'other sheep which are not of this fold,' could ever, in like manner, sum up the whole of non-baptized humanity in a single term as 'the heathen,' or regard them as wholly separated from the light of Divine truth. Nor need we even shrink from acknowledging that in a recent and strongly worded article² on 'Church and World' there is a considerable element of truth which it concerns the Church to recognize as much as it concerns the world to ask whether it can in reality afford to dispense with the Christian Church. All these admissions are entirely compatible with the recognition of the Church's Divine mission. We are in no way committed to the denial of the reality

¹ Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει.

² By the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal* (October 1906).

of any other mode of the Divine Life's manifestation. That in other religions and in other fields of human activity, more particularly in Science and in the State, the Spirit is at work, no one in a mistaken conception of loyal Churchmanship should ever be so narrowly ecclesiastical as to deny. Rather we should revert to the Pauline conception of the Church as a 'field'¹ wherein with conscious and deliberate purpose man co-operates with God for the cultivation of the life of the Spirit. That by the grace in nature this life grows elsewhere, that no hedge or pale is ever intended to cramp, confine or limit it, and that the Divine Energy is as prodigal in the Kingdom of the Spirit as in that of nature in its wonderfully varied manifestations and developments, all who realize the truth of Divine immanence will be ready to admit just in proportion as they understand the meaning of their convictions. Nothing in any one of these admissions is in any degree incompatible with a profound belief in the ideals and conception of the Divine Society, however conscious we may be of the abundant failures on the Church's part to be true to itself and to its own mission.

It is on similar principles that we shall interpret the Sacraments. Just as God's omnipresence secures its highest and most adequate expression in the Person of the Christ, and just as the spiritual life of Humanity has its deliberate and purposive realization in the organization of the Divine Society which neither imprisons nor exhausts it, so the life, power or grace by participation in which man attains to his true development is appropriated by means of definite rites, the function of which is not so much to confer that of which we should otherwise be wholly devoid as rather to provide recognized and authorized means for consciously making our own that which in the Divine purpose it is our right to claim by virtue of our spiritual nature. A belief in God's immanence is indeed inconsistent with the theory that we are 'by nature children of wrath' *wrongly understood*, just as it forbids us to hold that 'grace is tied unto the Sacraments,' in which of course we have Hooker with us. But

¹ γέωργιον, 1 Cor. iii. 9.

it surely at the same time gives an added intelligibility and virtue to these solemn ordinances, in that (while in no sense robbing them of their mystery) it relates them to the universal Life and Presence from which we are never far away. He who has apprehended how deeply the Sacramental principle is inherent in the nature of things, and who has once learned to regard the material as the vehicle of the spiritual, will not be inclined to labour the disputation as to whether the true Sacraments are seven in number or only two. If he finds 'every common bush afire with God' and knows that a book or a dead friend's gift may be a veritable means of grace, he will never doubt the doctrine of the Real Presence however little he may care to define it, and however conscious he may be of frequent materialistic perversions of it. If Christianity is right in teaching the universal Fatherhood of God, then Baptism does not so much confer a higher yet alien nature upon us, as assert and appropriate for us a nature truly our own in the Divine intention. It is so with the Sacrament of Holy Communion. In their interpretation of the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel competent authorities (Waterland and Westcott among others) hold that to 'feed on Christ' is a spiritual experience which must not be regarded as limited to the instituted rite, however true it is that what is everywhere possible is here apprehended in a divinely appointed manner and in a specific act. Augustine's 'crede et manducasti' and the Rubric in our own Office for the Communion of the Sick are other recognitions of this principle. And although, no doubt, it is well that our appointed means of grace should not be so numerous or so varied as to lose their dignity and their distinctive solemnity, still there is only spiritual gain in recognizing how far beyond these two supremely significant ordinances the Sacramental principle exerts its influence. The laying on of hands and the giving of a ring in marriage, even though they be not 'Sacraments of the Gospel,' are meaningless unless in some sense they are outward and visible signs of an inward grace. And if the colours of a beautiful sunset or the elaborated perfection of some minute piece of organic

life, or just the expression caught on a human face speak to us at times of the God in all and behind all, it is hard to see where we are to draw the limit to the Sacramental principle and say 'Here is the border line beyond which material things are no longer means and channels for the expression of Spirit and of Life.' It is some dim sense of this truth, surely, which is to be seen in many customs of primitive religions, and in this connexion the principle at the heart of the whole subject is well summed up by Dr. Illingworth when he writes, 'if these earlier rites derived reality and value from God's immanence in the world, and found Him at particular times and places because He is everywhere present and ready to be found, the Christian Sacraments must possess this reality in its highest degree.'¹ It is surely unwise and dangerous to claim for them any other kind of reality than this.

If there be any truth in the standpoint from which this article is written, and Christian theology should in the near future lay greater emphasis on the doctrine of the Divine immanence and its implications, the main consequence of such a tendency may prove to be that Religion will insist less upon antagonisms and contrasts and be more conscious of inherent synthesis and unity. The great assertions of Christianity have generally involved corresponding negations; but while the assertions have in the main been true, the denials have frequently been hasty and untenable. So we retain our Creeds but drop the anathemas or explain them. One has only to think of the familiar antitheses of religious thought to realize how every great assertion of Faith has involved an attitude of antagonism to some other current opinion or human interest. The Gospel is so set in opposition to the Law, the Spirit to the Letter, Revelation to Nature, Faith to Works, and Divine Grace to Human effort. So Science has been regarded as the foe of Religion, and the West deemed incapable of understanding the Oriental mind. The Catholic has been taught to have no dealings with the Protestant. The things of Caesar have been set in sharp

¹ *Divine Immanence*, p. 150.

contrast to the things of God. The Church and the World have been presented as not less inherently antagonistic than were Jerusalem and Babylon, or Jerusalem and Athens in the days of old.

There is not a contrast nor an antithesis among all these which has not its important element of truth and reality. At our peril we blur and obliterate distinctions which in fact exist, and reduce to the vague level of colourless generality those positive elements of experience of which we are often intensely conscious just in proportion to our realization of their sharply defined opposites. But the contrast and the antithesis is never the final stage. The ultimate outcome will be an all-inclusive unity, when God shall at last be 'all in all.' And in the present phase of our religious experience, when the Churches seem to have lost their Gospel and the Old to be often at variance with the New, when even abundant organization and much advertisement barely hide our lack of conviction and our poverty of spiritual life, it is possible that we are being led unconsciously by the Spirit's guidance towards a deeper realization of the inward unity of that whole process and order of which we find ourselves a part and from which our consciousness still in some way knows itself distinct. For if the doctrine of God's immanence become not only a tolerated and necessary proposition of Theology but, more than that, a truth alive in Christian experience and a welcome element in our religious thought, then the old antagonisms will not indeed vanish, but their oppositions will be seen as elements in the wider synthesis. Already we know the law to be the avenue to true liberty, and recognize a revelation in nature. Already effort is the complement of grace, works of faith. It remains for us, in the light of the doctrine of the indwelling God, to discover the similar harmony between the ministries of science and of religion, and between the diverse illuminations of the eastern and the western minds. It remains for us also to pass beyond the dismal reiteration of Protestant and Catholic shibboleths, to reclaim the ideal of the State for God, and to assert the identity of the end towards which

Church and World alike must move. Truth is one : the Universe is one : God is one. And to follow the guidance of the Spirit is to realize their unity more and more.

ART. VI.—THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CYPRUS.

1. *The Church of Cyprus*. By the Rev. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH. (London : S.P.C.K., 1900.)
2. *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, from the Coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation* (A.D. 45–A.D. 1878). Together with some Account of the Latin and other Churches existing in the Island. By J. HACKETT, B.D. (London : Methuen, 1901.)
3. *A Handbook of Cyprus*. By Sir J. T. HUTCHINSON and C. DELAVAL COBHAM, C.M.G. (London : E. Stanford, 1907.)

And other Works.

THE affairs of Cyprus can scarcely be expected to loom large in the eyes of the public, but the present crisis, known in the island as 'the Archiepiscopal Question,' deserves more notice from English Churchmen than it has received. We propose here to marshal the facts with as great exactness as we have been able to attain, and to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.

A word may be said in preface with regard to the history. At the date of the conquest of Cyprus by Richard I of England in 1191 the island had twelve or thirteen Orthodox bishops ; we must suppose it populous, prosperous, and devout. Bishops of Salamis, Paphos and Tremithus were present at the Council of Nicaea ; twelve Cypriots subscribed the canons of that of Sardica (A.D. 343).

'The peace and independence of the native Church was threatened for a while by the pretensions of the Patriarchs of Antioch to appoint its Metropolitans. But these claims were stoutly withstood ; the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) pronounced against them, and (about A.D. 478) the lucky discovery

of the remains of St. Barnabas, and of a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in Barnabas' own handwriting which lay on his breast, supplied a bribe which bought from the Emperor Zeno a rescript excluding the interference of the See of Antioch, and conferring on the Archbishop of Cyprus the right of signing his name in red ink, of wearing a cope of imperial purple, and carrying a sceptre in place of a pastoral staff—privileges which have been jealously retained.' ¹

Amaury, brother of Guy de Lusignan and first king, was the first of the Latin rulers to treat with the see of Rome for the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. His scheme (completed by Henri I, *circa* 1220) reduced the thirteen Orthodox sees to four, changed their titles, annexed their temporalities, and exacted from them in no inconsiderable degree submission and subservience to the Latin archbishop.² At the date of the Ottoman conquest (1570) the servitude of the native Church was complete. The conquering Turk rigorously expelled the Latin clergy, and the Orthodox were free to reorganize their Church as they chose. In fact they made no real changes. The archbishop resumed his residence at Nicosia, and the metropolitans the titles of Paphos, Kition and Kyrenia. Gradually, no doubt, they recovered, as did the monasteries, much of the property seized by the Latins; but the Latin cathedrals of St. Sophia at Nicosia and St. Nicolas at Famagusta, an equally beautiful building of a century later in date, had become mosques. There were occasionally troubles and persecutions, notably the execution of the archbishop with three metropolitans, an abbot, and others, in June 1821; but generally the clergy seem to have been on good terms with their flocks, and the prelates to have enjoyed some influence with the local Government. So the English occupation found the island in July 1878, and so, ecclesiastically speaking, it continued until the death of Archbishop

¹ *Handbook of Cyprus*, 1907.

² The discreditable story may be read at large in the *History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, by the Rev. J. Hackett, B.D. (Methuen, 1901), and *The Church of Cyprus*, by the Rev. H. T. F. Duckworth (S.P.C.K., 1900). On the subject of the history generally reference may be made to an article in these pages (*C.Q.R.*, July 1903).

Sophronios in 1900. Of a synod, as we shall see later, little was heard. A courteous intercourse was maintained with the native prelates by English officials of every rank ; but it was, and is, only as members of the central and district administrative councils (Mejalis Idare—bodies of very little scope and powers) that they had any voice in the government. The Anglican bishops who visited Cyprus exchanged friendly and interesting visits with their Orthodox brothers, and doxologies were yearly sung in the principal churches of the capital and the districts on the occasion of the British sovereign's birthday.

There is hardly evidence to shew that before our coming ecclesiastical property went wholly untaxed, but the bishops and abbots were somewhat perturbed by the levying of tithe and land tax impartially (as is still done) on clerical and lay possessions. With this exception, until the introduction this year into the Legislative Council (a body composed of Moslems, Orthodox, Anglicans, and others) of the Bill to which we shall presently refer, the relations of the Orthodox community *as such* with the Government were friendly and unconstrained.

For twenty-two years, 1878–1900, the policy of the British Government respected, and is acknowledged locally to have respected, the independence of the autocephalous Orthodox Church of Cyprus. Vacancies had occurred in the sees of Larnaca (twice), of Paphos, of Kyrenia (twice), and these had been filled, presumably in accordance with established usage ; but the elections, if there were elections—for in no case were there competing candidates—were held without fuss, and the new bishops were silently recognized by Government, the issue of *berats*—the documents by which the Sublime Porte conveyed its allowance to the bishops-elect—being suspended.

On February 5, 1899, however, Epiphánios, Bishop of Paphos, died. The futile attempts made to fill this see (in May 1899 and January 1901) need not detain us here ; it is still vacant. On May 22, 1900, Sophronios, Archbishop of New Justiniana and all Cyprus, was called to his rest. The Holy Synod met at once in order to arrange for filling the

vacant see, and on July 25 issued its Encyclical, a detailed instruction as to the conduct of the election. The members of the Synod were then, in order of seniority, the Bishops of Kition and Kyrenia, the Hegoumenoi of Kykko and Machaira, and the Archimandrite and Exarch of the archdiocese. The Bishop of Kition retired in anger on June 1, 1900, when he found that the 'canonismos' drawn up by the Bishop of Kyrenia and the Abbot of Kykko, to which he had, unwillingly enough, affixed his signature, impaired his natural rights as president. He was, in fact, in a minority of one in the Synod, while it is clear that he had no doubt that a popular election would make him archbishop. He did not sign the Encyclical, but made no protest against it, for he had accepted the jurisdiction of the Synod so long as there was a quorum of four members, including the president. In August 1900, Ignatios, Abbot of Machaira, died. Metrophanes was elected in his room, and on October 13 was inducted by the Bishop of Kyrenia as abbot and member of the Synod. The correctness of this last step was disputed, some holding that only the archbishop, or the senior bishop, acting as *topoteretes*, could admit an abbot-elect to his dignities. Within a week the Exarch Joseph died, somewhat suddenly. He could not be replaced; but the Synod, reduced now to four members, continued to meet, despite the doubtful vote of the new Abbot of Machaira.

A more general attack was now made on its position. Opponents undertook to shew that a Holy Synod of Cyprus, as a permanent and administrative body, either did not exist at all—at least, not in a form comparable with those in the Churches of Constantinople and Jerusalem—or was composed of bishops only, under the presidency of the archbishop or (during a vacancy in the primatial see) of the bishop next in rank—the order being Paphos, Kition, Kyrenia. It was admitted that presidents had called, and could call, into their councils the heads of great monasteries and other dignitaries; but these sat neither continuously nor of right. Was the Synod, then, canonical or not? It is fairly clear that under Archbishop Sophronios the

Synod was summoned but rarely, and at irregular intervals, and always for a special purpose, such as the election of a bishop or the deprivation of a peccant clerk. Appeals were made, in the course of a heated controversy, to the Register (or *Codex*) of the archbishopric, but no effort was made to have printed in their entirety the minutes of former synods—those, for instance, which, during the nineteenth century, were concerned with the elections of the last eight archbishops. In the same way a long string of words (*archai, dikaia, dikaiomata, ethe, ethima, thesmoi, thesmia, kanones, oroi, pronomia*) has been current throughout the dispute; but no one on either side has been at the pains to define and explain them, to state whence they are derived, or to justify their use.

Meanwhile the form of election, as prescribed by the Encyclical, was carried out, and the returns made on September 10, 1900. In the four dioceses Orthodox residents of over twenty-one years chose as their 'special' representatives 386, 169, 240 and 198 persons respectively, all over twenty-five years; these in turn elected ten and twenty, four and five, three and nine, three and six, clerics and laymen respectively, all over thirty years. These sixty 'general' representatives, with the Holy Synod, were to elect the archbishop. The notice stated that the number of electors apportioned to the several dioceses was based on the census of 1891, and was consonant with the practice hitherto observed in the choice of Metropolitans. Out of the electors forty-six were declared supporters of the Bishop of Kition, fourteen of the Bishop of Kyrenia. Thus, with his own vote as a member of the Synod, the Bishop of Kition was sure of forty-seven votes; the Bishop of Kyrenia, with his own and those of the other three members, of eighteen. Objections, however, were raised to the validity of the election of some of the sixty, and these were being examined by the Synod when the Bishop of Kition telegraphed in October to the three Patriarchs (excluding the Syrian-born Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch), and to the Church of Greece, praying that bishops might be sent to Cyprus, who, either alone or in concert with the

two local bishops, might form a canonical Synod, and so solve disputed points and restore peace to the Church. He and his friends insisted that only real objections, not affecting form only, should be examined, and that when such were upheld new elections should be ordered. The Synod was openly accused of concocting or encouraging objections, and then of intending to sift out as many as possible of the Kitiac representatives and to replace them by Kyreniakoi, who came next on the poll. The Oecumenical Patriarch Constantine V on December 20, 1900, directed the Synod to suspend the examination, which might be continued when the Synod was completed by the addition of three Episcopal Exarchs from without. It must be noted that during all this period the Bishop of Kyrenia, who is allowed to be 'a good pastor, with a sound education, and crowned with many Christian virtues,' is assumed to enjoy the favour of the local Government; while the Bishop of Kition, 'a man of strong will, pure patriotism, and the leader of the Hellenic (or anti-English) party,' is held by his friends to be the object of hatred and attack on the part of its chief officers.

We pass gladly over the charges brought by the enemies of each against the rival bishops, the scandalous use of private letters, the excesses of the local Press: these are unedifying symptoms of the purely personal or phratriastic character of the contest, but they have had no great influence on the result. It is asserted that in January 1901 the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, through H.M. Ambassador at Constantinople, prevented the departure of the Exarchs to whom we have referred, on the ground that it would be an invasion of the rights of the Cypriot Church, since the two rival parties had not agreed in the reference. The Synod replied to the Oecumenical Patriarch on March 19, 1901, and resumed its labours. A memorial from the Kitiakoi was presented to Government, and a copy sent on February 8, 1901, to the Oecumenical Patriarch, who replied on February 23, addressing himself to the two Metropolitans as though he agreed with the memorialists that no canonical Synod then existed.

Joakim III returned, after an enforced absence of seven-

teen years to the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople on June 7, 1901 (O.S.), and, with the concurrence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and of the Archimandrite G. Gregoras, Delegate at Constantinople of the Patriarch of Alexandria, despatched to Cyprus an Exarch, D. Georgiades, who was to hear unofficially and impartially the arguments of both parties. He obtained from each statements of the conditions under which they agreed to leave the matter in the hands of the three Patriarchs, and after a stay of a month returned to Constantinople. His report, dated October 28, 1901, was not printed until January 1903. It reads like the intercepted letter of a secret agent of a small and quarrelsome State. Not a thought or word betrays the ecclesiastical character of the enquiry, or suggests that the rivals so shrewdly painted are Christians and bishops. Neither of them has even a moderate fitness for his post. The Bishop of Kition and his 'bawlings' are represented as the prime cause of the unhappy divisions, and he is in no sense worthy of the support of the Great Church. But the 'wiles' of the Holy Synod play their part in the crisis, and only the Patriarch's intervention can still the storm. The Patriarchs then wrote to both bishops, directing them to meet and to proceed with an election. An expression, admittedly ambiguous, in this letter gave rise to more correspondence, until on January 25, 1902, the decision of the Patriarchs was telegraphed from Constantinople. It excluded the candidature of both Cypriot bishops, and proposed three new names. The Kitiakoi rejected this with passionate vehemence—'We throw all the fatal consequences on you. We will resist your decision by force'—and followed up their telegrams with a memorial, dated January 30, 1902, a copy of which was sent to the Government. The substantial grievance was that the arbitrating Patriarchs had gone beyond the terms of the reference, to which their Holinesses retorted that those who thought so knew nothing of history and canon law. The Patriarch of Alexandria recalled his delegate from the Phanar, and appears henceforth as a keen partizan of the Bishop of Kition. In subsequent telegrams the names of

the candidates were changed, but the exclusion of the two local bishops was invariably maintained.

In December 1902 the Synod submitted, through the High Commissioner, a statement to the Colonial Office; the reply of the Secretary of State was conveyed to the members on January 17, 1903. Mr. Chamberlain hoped that the efforts of the Synod would be renewed, and the free election of an archbishop by the Orthodox inhabitants of Cyprus, according to their established custom, be secured. An election made on any other basis but this could not be recognized by the Government. The Bishop of Kition refused to work with the Synod to this end, but in June proposed to the Legislative Council a plan of his own. It dropped, and in a general way the question slept until April 1907, when a private member introduced into the Legislative Council (in which eight out of nine Orthodox members were partizans of the Bishop of Kition) 'a Bill, to provide for the election, in a quite exceptional case, of the Archbishop of the autocephalous Greek-Orthodox Church of Cyprus.' This too was discussed and dropped. Fresh appeals were made jointly by both the bishops to the Patriarchates, and in June 1907 Photios, Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria, Basileios, Bishop of Anchialos (representing the Oecumenical Patriarch) and the Archimandrite M. Metaxakes (representing the Patriarch of Jerusalem) arrived in Cyprus. Their action was wholly unfortunate, and contributed only to the exasperation of the rival parties. The Patriarch Photios sided openly with the Bishop of Kition, the Bishop of Anchialos with his brother of Kyrenia, in spite of the fact that he had himself written previously (in June 1904) to one G. S. Francoudes, that if he were sent as delegate to Cyprus he would 'do all that is possible, just, and fitting, to make the opinion of the majority, as being the saner section, prevail.'

There had been at first signs on the part of the delegates of an intention to work harmoniously with the two local bishops, and on that of some at least of the lay representatives of both parties to bow to their decisions. But memorials presented to, and considered by, the delegates

shewed the old divergence between Synodikoi and Kitiakoi ; the Great Church gave a favourable ear to the contentions of the former, the Patriarch of Jerusalem recalled his representative, and the Patriarch Photios left for Alexandria. The latter, however, returned on February 7 (o.s.), 1908, and three days later a telegram announced the election, by an unanimous vote of the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople, of the Bishop of Kyrenia to the Archbishopric. The election was reported verbally by three members of the Synod to the High Commissioner, who said that he would submit the news to the Colonial Office. The bells of the archiepiscopal church were rung, and the Kitiakoi, believing that an attempt would be made forthwith to enthrone the new Archbishop, assembled in force, threatened the Bishop of Anchialos, the Abbot of Kykko and his friends, and made themselves masters of the archiepiscopal residence. At this point Government interfered, removed the Synodikoi, and cleared the building (April 8 and 9). On April 10 the High Commissioner by proclamation ordered the town and vicinity of Nicosia to be 'occupied by an armed force of police,' and instructions were telegraphed for the maintenance of order in the district centres. The archiepiscopal house is a Government building, occupied since 1900 by members of the Synod whom their rivals were always eager to expel. On May 6 the Bill (drafted by the King's Advocate, and introduced by the Chief Secretary) 'to approve a method of procedure for the election of an archbishop of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus,' was passed by the English and Orthodox members of the Legislative Council, M. Arauzo dissenting and the Moslem members having withdrawn. The preamble runs :

'Whereas a vacancy in the Archiepiscopal Throne of the autocephalous Greek-Orthodox Church of Cyprus has existed since the death of the late Archbishop Sophronios :

And whereas grave dissensions and disputes have been occasioned by reason of the long continuance of the said vacancy :

And whereas the public peace of the Island has been greatly disturbed by reason of the said dissensions and disputes :

And whereas it is necessary to safeguard the public peace

of the Island and to provide for filling the existing vacancy in the said see. Be it enacted, etc.'

A schedule, based on the Encyclical issued by the Synod in July 1900, gives directions as to how the election shall take place.¹ The senior bishop, the Metropolitan of Kition, shall invite three or more bishops of any neighbouring Church or Churches to come to Cyprus, to form, if possible, in conjunction with the bishops of the Church of Cyprus, an Episcopal Synod for the purpose of filling the vacancy in the archiepiscopal see. In his default the Government may be moved by petition to issue the invitations. In regard to this proposal it is only necessary to remark that the Bishop of Kition would invite only prelates known to be favourable to his own candidature, while the Bishop of Kyrenia, already appointed Archbishop by the Great Church and Synod of Constantinople, would take no part in such a Synod, and his supporters in the country would take no part in the election of representatives.

After the election of sixty representatives it is provided that the Episcopal Synod shall deal with objections, and together with the representatives, and not more than six other ecclesiastics of the Church of Cyprus whom the Episcopal Synod may invite, and who may be present, shall elect an archbishop, and report to Government, for the approval of the High Commissioner, the name of the archbishop-elect. When that approval is signified to the Synod, that body 'shall proceed to the performance of such religious and ceremonial rites as they shall deem fit and proper for consummating the election of the archbishop.' The said archbishop shall then 'be invested with all the powers, privileges, and property to which by law, custom, or otherwise, the Archbishop of Cyprus is entitled.'

No provision, it will be observed, is made to meet the case of the failure of the three or more bishops to accept the invitation. They may well refuse the thankless task, or be inhibited therefrom by their respective superiors. And be it noted also that if the senior local bishop shall fail to

¹ See pp. 124-5.

issue invitations, or to effect the formation of an Episcopal Synod for the purposes of this law, it shall be lawful for not less than thirty of the clergy of the Church of Cyprus to release themselves in effect from their obedience to their diocesans, and join five of the lay Orthodox members of the Legislative Council in inviting the intervention of Government.

On April 12 the Chief Secretary had visited Myrton, accompanied by one of the keenest leaders of the Kitiakoi, as interpreter, and handed to the new Archbishop a summons to attend on the morrow and give evidence before a select committee of the Legislative Council on the Government Bill. The first copy was addressed to 'the Bishop of Kyrenia'; the reply stated that the document did not concern the person who received it, who was Archbishop of Cyprus and no longer Bishop of Kyrenia. The Chief Secretary then handed in another summons addressed (*tout court*) to 'Kyrillos Basileiou.' To this the Archbishop-elect replied that it did not concern him, as his high office involved the use of certain inseparable titles. A similar summons was sent to the Bishop of Anchialos, who replied that no branch of the Eastern Orthodox Church admitted the interference of Government officers in matters of a purely ecclesiastical nature. The Abbot of Kykko also declined to appear before the sub-committee. On May 14 the Oecumenical Patriarch intimated by telegram that 'grave ecclesiastical measures would be taken against the Bishop of Kition and other clerics who persisted in combining to draft such a law.' Assent was given to the Bill on May 25, and it came into force on that day.

The elections of 1906 had resulted in the triumph of the Kitiakoi in the Legislative Council. The three members for the electoral division of Nicosia-Kyrenia, including the Bishop of Kition, were indeed unseated on petition, but were re-elected without a contest. The municipal elections of April 1908 were more favourable to the Kyreniakoi. It was suggested (we believe in *The Standard*) that if Government meant to persist with their Bill, it would have been more constitutional to dissolve the Legislative Council and to allow the electors generally, rather than their present

representatives, to decide whether the course forced upon Government by the Kitiakoi was generally acceptable to the islanders. There is much to be said for this view. The Bill would have been circulated and discussed in all its bearings, as well ecclesiastical as civil, and the more sober section of the Orthodox population would have understood, and perhaps persuaded the rest, that their rights and privileges, usages and forms, would suffer less at the hands of the Great Church than from the intermixture of an alien Government in their affairs. In any case, after more than seven years of shameful and fruitless quarrels the Government finds itself doing in 1908, at the bidding of one faction, what that same faction had demanded in 1901. It might well have refrained then and now from interference in a question which it has never understood, and with which it was in no wise concerned—an interference which the Bishop of Kition (in 1908) still calls ‘untimely and unfair.’

The Church of Cyprus, like those of Russia, Roumania, and Greece, is autocephalous, and free to manage its own affairs to its own liking. The rule of the French, Venetian, Ottoman and English masters of the island has not essentially altered its status. Unfortunately the materials for its history are scanty. They allow us to know what pressure was put on it from outside, but not how it was guided from within. Thus of its relations to the Oecumenical Patriarchate little evidence is available. A primacy of honour was, of course, conceded to the see of Constantinople, which sends the Holy Chrism; and we find scattered notices of direct interference in matters concerning the Island Church, its monasteries and its pastors. It is less easy to say whether such interference was invited, or whether the Patriarch, *proprio motu*, enlarged the independence of a monastery, rescinded a censure issued by the local Synod, gave direction or counsel to an Archbishop. It is only natural to suppose that the Patriarch, without arrogating to himself the illimitable jurisdiction claimed by the see of Rome, may feel that in the graver crises of sister Churches he is justified in directing that such and such solutions would

contribute most effectively to the peace and welfare of the Orthodox community in general. On what historical grounds he would rest in so doing is a question which deserves careful examination.

Again, that the Island Government, even apart from the tumults at Nicosia, may find a prolongation of the situation lead to grave administrative difficulties is not to be denied, and these difficulties may be held to justify the Erastian measures taken to allay them. There are only two bishops left; if the primacy is left vacant until these are dead—what then? Yet many will think the machinery at the command of the Government is ill-suited for the use to which it is put: that the precedent is dangerous: and that the party-leaders who have invited the intervention of an administration alien in religion, speech, and feeling, will, if that intervention ends in a failure, or in results which they may be pleased to consider unexpected and untoward, make it a weapon of war. Others, from a different point of view, will dwell on the slight offered by Government to the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople, a religious body, an Orthodox body, which, apart from historic claims, speaks with the authority inherent in its exalted position, which commands the respect and sympathy of the scattered branches of the Eastern Church, and may well be held to be the natural arbiter in their difficulties.

The contest has a political side, upon which we shall not touch. But it may be noticed as a curious symptom that the attitude of the more sober journals of the Greek Kingdom is unfavourable to the Kitiakoi. Their rebellion against the Great Church of Christ and its Patriarch, the chief of *Grecia irredenta*, is pronounced worthy of condemnation, and it matters nothing at all if its authors have or have not historical ground for their action. The prestige of Orthodoxy and the Panhellenion must be maintained beyond the reach of a few quarrelsome Cypriots. Meanwhile the prelates invited have sent no word of answer to the invitation: Joakim III persists in his decision: and the deadlock is as complete as ever. Must it end in schism? *Deus meliora piis.*

ART. VII.—MR. FREDERIC HARRISON'S STUDIES.

1. *Memories and Thoughts : Men, Books, Cities, Art.* By FREDERIC HARRISON. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1906.)
2. *The Creed of a Layman : Apologia pro Fide Mea.* By the same. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1907.)
3. *The Philosophy of Common Sense.* By the same. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1908.)
4. *National and Social Problems.* By the same. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1908.)¹

THESE four volumes contain a part, and only a part, of Mr. Harrison's reprint of the essays which he has contributed to various Reviews during the space of almost fifty years. That they are brilliantly written there is no need to say ; and some of them will be welcome to those who remember them in a more transient form. They deal with a vast area of topics—religion, philosophy, historical and social controversies, artistic and literary subjects, topography, and the iniquity of tobacco. The reviewer who should attempt to give an account of them all would need almost infinite information and almost unlimited space. To neither of these requisites can we lay claim. We shall therefore restrict ourselves to a few general remarks, and to a fuller discussion of the writer's religious and philosophical views.

The author who reprints, almost without modification or explanation, essays which deal with events perhaps forty years old lies under an obvious disadvantage, or rather imposes it upon his readers. When he wrote the events which he discussed, the books which he reviewed, were familiar to his readers. They were prepared to check or to supplement his statements with the help of the newspaper. If the essayist was something of a partizan this was forgiven him at a moment when most men were strongly

¹ For the sake of brevity the first of these volumes will be referred to as *Memories*, the second as *Creed*, the third as *Philosophy*, and the fourth as *Problems*.

moved in this direction or in that. If he overstated his case we were propitiated by the certainty that in the next Review his exaggeration would be refuted. But there are not many of us whose recollections are vivid as to such an occurrence as, say, the Afghan war of 1879. It is well for us to refresh our memories ; but we want a more solid and temperate guidance than that of an article full of sweeping condemnation of the Government then in power. Again, recent history is continually illuminated by the publication of fresh materials. An essay upon Garibaldi and Cavour written in 1860 must needs be imperfect when reprinted now, unless it weighs the immense amount of matter which is being daily made public in Italy. An essay on Egypt written in 1882 should surely take more notice of Lord Cromer's book than a single summary paragraph in the Introduction to *Problems*. We take these instances, not because we disagree with Mr. Harrison—on the contrary we are generally inclined to agree with him—but because we dislike the writing and the reading of history by flashes of lightning, and we distrust a man who can reprint his work of many years ago without more than the scantiest amount of modification. Surely he must have learned something. If such egoism may be allowed, we may say that we have lately read over a number of articles contributed to these pages during the last twenty years, and, though there is none which we would repudiate, there is not one which we should care to reprint word for word as it stands. Here a fact needs restatement in view of more accurate knowledge ; there an argument might be strengthened ; sometimes a phrase has slipped in which is hardly considerate. But Mr. Harrison's method reminds us of that of Fra Angelico, who would not alter a picture because he believed it inspired. We are not so conceited as to compare ourselves with this brilliant essayist ; but, if it is a token of a great mind to be always learning, we are surprised to find him reprinting and endorsing with hardly a word of modification what was written years ago in the haste which is inseparable from periodical literature. We draw attention to this fact because it seems to illustrate

his temper. He criticizes everything save himself. In particular he condemns Christianity with little further knowledge of it than that which he learned as a schoolboy.

As a boy he received such religious training as is common in a devout household. 'I can call to mind no time of my boyish life when I was not familiar with the whole of the Bible and Prayer-book, with the books of Archdeacon Paley, Bishop Wilberforce, Edward Burton, William Adams, and other theologians of the old school.'¹ He was presented for confirmation 'at the proper age' on the ground that he knew the dates of the Popes and the spurious character of the Clementine Homilies; and he made his first Communion 'with great reverence and unction.'

Thus prepared, he went to Wadham at the age of eighteen. He gives² a vivid description of the religious state of Oxford in 1849. It lacks, indeed, the splendid breadth of Dean Church's narrative of a few years before that date; but Church ends with 1845, and no man has inherited his pen to describe the period that followed. An historian who was himself an eye-witness can hardly be looked for now, and a later generation, which strives to conceive the position from fragmentary records, will not fail to be grateful for information to Mr. Harrison. It was four years since Newman submitted to Rome. Of those who had admired him not a few followed his example; others, saddened yet unshaken, remained where God had placed them. Old-fashioned Protestants thought they had won the battle. A new, and a more dangerous, enemy was arising in the form of Liberalism.

'Sunday after Sunday, year after year, the official pulpit rang with some different point of view, from the extreme Ritualist to the ultra-Calvinist. The select preachers and the Bampton lecturers often broached a more philosophical scheme of thought. . . . We often spent most of Sunday, until the early hours of Monday morning, discussing the sermon of the day, combating each other's "heresies" and "superstitions."'³

It was not a healthy condition for eager young men; but it is not difficult to see how it arose out of the more

¹ *Creed*, p. 5. ² *Creed*, p. 13; *Memories*, p. 7. ³ *Creed*, p. 14.

recent phase of Tractarianism. Never for a moment can we forget that the leaders of the movement were saintly men, earnest for the right statement of Catholic dogma, but always still more earnest in practising and teaching the Christian life, in loving God and man, in doing good, in purging the conscience from sin. But the most conspicuous place had passed into the hands of a consummate dialectician, and with many of his disciples dialectic was taking a disproportionate position, the more easily because one of the objects at stake was the defence and explanation of doctrine. Side by side with this temper was growing up what is a common concomitant of dialectic—the conviction that because an argument ought to be surely convincing it was certain to convince. Men wrote as if the battle was won when a suitable artillery had been provided, and thought that the whole of English Protestantism was about to crumble under the assault of Oxford logic. Dean Church gives the following account of one of Newman's disciples, who certainly cannot be charged with lack of religious earnestness, yet who may illustrate the case of men less real than himself :

‘He had great faith in his own well-fenced logical creations, and defied the objections of a homelier common sense. He was not content to wait in silence the slow and sad changes of old convictions, the painful decay and disappearance of long-cherished ties. His mind was too active, restless, unreserved. To the last he persisted in forcing on the world, professedly to influence it, really to defy it, the most violent assertions which he could formulate of the most paradoxical claims on friends and opponents which had ever been made.’¹

Of the effect of such a temper upon Newman himself Church has much to say. But what of its effect on those who were not, like Newman, firmly grounded on faith in God, on habitual devotion, on zealous service? The inevitable effect was to encourage a disputatious tone, which cared rather for discussion about religion than for the practice of it. Many had appealed exclusively to logic, and to logic they must go. Their dialectic had become

¹ *Oxford Movement*, p. 314.

vicious by isolation, and heaven of their pleasant vices made whips to scourge them. Others could argue as well as they. Let it be observed that we are not speaking of the leaders themselves, or of the many who followed them in the most practical Christian life. These were defeated but not destroyed. It is often said that the secession of Newman was a disaster. To our understanding it was a real blessing. He was too great a man to be profitable in a valetudinarian Church, just as a giant would be out of place in a crew of average oarsmen. He could not do otherwise than gather round himself a party, and his party exaggerated his faults. Afterwards many of the same men were called Puseyites; but the difference is noticeable. Pusey was learned, convincing, authoritative, but he was not generally attractive. He really founded no party, but he influenced a movement which has spread far beyond those who recognize in him their master. And after 1845 the movement ceased to be the Oxford Movement. It was transferred from that rather narrow academical atmosphere to the world of large cities and to a wider area, where it confronted the problems of ordinary life; where the danger of worshipping a deity of dialectic was obviated by the needs of men who could not argue but wanted to be taught how to live.

Pusey, then, and his disciples were in 1849 studying, fasting, praying, in their patience possessing their souls. But to clever young men patience is not an attractive virtue. They crave a ready solution of difficulties, rather than that slow solution which comes to those who walk in the way. A man like Mr. Harrison was naturally more affected by those who at the bidding of a syllogism submitted to Rome, or by those who at the bidding of a syllogism cast off Christianity altogether, than by those who taught that God could only be found by those who sought Him in the way of His commandments. Sunday-night discussions about the heresies of other people do not make convinced Christians.

As to the steps by which Mr. Harrison's 'calm acceptance of orthodox doctrine melted away into a sense of sus-

pendent judgement and anxious thirst for wider knowledge,'¹ his interesting and candid chapters of autobiography give few details ; but before his twenty-fourth year the change seems to have been complete. Ere, however, a complete acceptance of the Positivist religion took the place of the discarded Christianity some years were to elapse. We call attention to this interval, because it seems to confirm the suggestion, which we have ventured to make, that his belief in Christianity was never more than acquiescence for a time in inherited tradition—never was the intelligent faith of a Christian man. 'I never parted with any belief,' he writes, 'till I had found its complement'; yet there must have been several years after he parted from Christianity before he found the creed in which he is now at rest. But there is no indication that at any point in his movement he looked back with longing on what he had left, while as yet he had not found that which should take its place. Of course we have known those who felt themselves obliged to renounce their early faith ; and we have known those who thought that they had found in some new belief more than all that they had renounced. Commonly, until they are established in the new religion, they look back with longing regret upon that which they can no longer hold. At least it was precious, though it may have been fallacious. Now, here we find a thoughtful and earnest man who has been led to renounce a belief so consoling as that in a perfect Father of men, in a Saviour holy yet sympathetic with sinners, in a Spirit enabling men to live a holy life, in prayer by which we realize our relation to God. Such things may have been false, but they were precious ; and many an unbeliever longs to regain his lost faith. But here is a man, certainly of a religious temper, who has lost the old and has not yet attained to the new ; and yet there is no suggestion that he felt that he had lost anything. He casts off in succession the outworn garments of his soul as easily as we cast off the worn garments of our bodies. Does it not seem that he had never really valued that which his reason seemed to require him to renounce ?

¹ *Creed*, p. 16.

We infer that Mr. Harrison's belief in the Christian religion was never the vital concern to him that it has been to some who have renounced it ; that it was little more than a group of notions which he could modify or reject as painlessly as we modify our notions of astronomy or historical statements which we are obliged to discard.

It is worth while to consider some of the inherited beliefs which he cast off so easily ; and we believe that we shall find that they bore to him the form of mere intellectual assent to certain propositions, those propositions regarded only from the standpoint of inherited tradition and not apprehended with the growing intelligence of a man.

Mr. Harrison says : ' To recognize an inconceivable and inexplicable Majesty may be metaphysics. . . . It is not, cannot be, religion.' ¹ This is true just in the same way in which it is true that to recognize the King is not loyalty, or that to see a landscape is not poetry. Politics, optics, metaphysics, discern that round which loyalty, poetry, religion can grow. We deprecate the tone of contempt with which Mr. Harrison habitually speaks of metaphysics. It may not reach the decisive results which are reached by chemistry ; but may there not be some use in a study which does not reach final results ? We live in a world not realized, surrounded by mysteries which we cannot solve, and which perhaps we shall never solve. Is it certain that our wisest course is to shut our eyes to all that we cannot bring under scientific rules ? May it not be profitable to provide a place in our thought for baffled wonder ? Man, from the cradle, is a metaphysical being, proposing problems which are never solved : they mingle with his poetry, with his music, with his religion ; and to turn a deaf ear to inarticulate wonder is to disregard, we think, a great part of our environment and of the faculties which correspond to it.

But religion, and particularly the Christian religion, is not based upon metaphysics. It is based upon experience. Men have been conscious of something greater than themselves, and greater than the world of sense, and they have

¹ *Creed*, p. 70.

desired to live in accord with it. This Greater Thing they called God. What they experienced, or fancied that they experienced, philosophers among them tried to estimate. It was possible that the experience was real, like the vision of the stars ; it was possible that it was fallacious, like the apparent movements of the heavenly bodies. The only unreasonable course is to refuse to study the stars or God because, for the time at least, we do not see our way to a positive knowledge of either. It is not amiss to remind ourselves that, if to many in our age it seems impossible to know God, it would have seemed equally impossible a few years back to measure Sirius, or to analyze the atmosphere of the sun.

The Christian religion arose, like religion in general, not out of theories but out of experience. Men had met with a Person in whom they found nothing but goodness, who yet was full of tenderness with the sinful ; they had found Him claiming to be in perfect accord with the God whom their fathers had believed ; they had found Him able to lift them up to overcome their lower passions. It was a secondary step to attempt to harmonize this experience with the belief in the Divine Unity which they had received from their fathers. We are, for our own part, convinced that this harmony was found in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and no other harmony which has been proposed has the guarantee of wide acceptance ; but this is very different from asserting that the doctrine of the *Quicumque vult* was in the earliest stages, or is for the individual believer to-day, the source of Christian faith. Every Christian allows that an ignorant ploughman, who attaches no meaning at all to such terms as ' person ' and ' substance,' may be as true a disciple as the most learned metaphysician ; only, if the man thinks at all, he is not at liberty to discard the orthodox expressions in favour of such as he himself may evolve, simply because those expressions do accord with the reality which they try to represent, and no other expressions are suggested which do so. It ought not to be difficult to see the difference between the statements that we are saved by the Holy Trinity and that we are saved

by the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. We are nourished by bread and meat, not by theories as to the digestibility of bread and meat; yet if we are capable of understanding chemical language we shall go wrong if we imagine that stones contain nitrogen, or that meat is made of arsenic. If we think, we cannot get rid of metaphysical terms. The man who uses such a common phrase as 'I will eat' uses language which invites metaphysical discussion: What is meant by 'I'? What is implied in the term of volition 'I will'? What is the relation between the bread and the 'I' which eats it? Such questions may be profitable or the reverse, but they are inevitable to those who think. What is obvious is that a man's health is based, not upon his familiarity with the chemistry of digestion but upon the things which he digests. The case is similar with religion. Personal affection, reliance, obedience, come first; and afterwards, if we are capable of it, a right theory of the Trinity and of the Incarnation.

If Mr. Harrison identifies the cause of Christianity with the inerrancy of Holy Scripture, at least it should be remembered in his favour that this was probably the doctrine which he had learned from his elders. In the early days of the Church, when the standards of criticism were few, undoubtedly the view prevailed that whatever was written in the Bible was absolutely and historically true, though the incidence of this theory was diminished by the prevalence of allegorical interpretation and by the authority of the Church. At the time of the Reformation, when ecclesiastical authority was rejected or restricted, men naturally seized at the conception of an inerrant Bible. All its portions were placed on a level, without regard to the evolution of its contents. A text from Genesis was regarded as having the same weight as a text from the Gospels. And as allegorism fell out of favour it resulted that the Old Testament was looked upon as offering not a symbolical figure of spiritual truth but a literal record of historic events. It was as necessary to believe that the world was made in 144 hours, that the Flood covered the Sahara and the Himalayahs, as to believe in the Crucifixion;

'because the Bible said so.' Many besides Mr. Harrison shared his opinion that Christian faith rested upon a literal acceptance of every statement in the Bible. The present writer can well remember his dismay when he found it impossible to accept in a literal sense the story of Creation, and his doubt whether it was honest still to call himself a Christian.

In 1860 the first conspicuous attack was made on this position in a volume of *Essays and Reviews*. It is many years since we read this work, and circumstances make it impossible to refresh our memory. There may have been much that was rash in the book, and much that was stated in a provocative manner ; but it does not seem fair to forget that the writers proposed, at a time when the proposal was unpopular, a view of the composite and progressive nature of Holy Scripture which is now accepted by almost all careful students of every school. It might have been expected that a man of Mr. Harrison's mind would have welcomed an attempt to relieve earnest men from the weight of what he regarded as a grievous burden. On the contrary, his first literary effort was a slashing censure of the writers, not on account of what he held to be untrue, but because he charged them with leading men to a dishonest attempt to combine freedom of thought with a profession of loyalty to Christianity. We have seen the same thing in the last year or two, when the efforts of Modernists in the Roman Church have had few opponents more determined than those who themselves repudiate the despotism of the Holy See. Mr. Harrison's essay on *Neo-Christianity* is now reprinted under the title of *Septem contra Fidem*. It contains the remarkable prediction, most unlikely at the time, that one of the Essayists may 'one day sit on the episcopal throne of Dr. Tait'¹; but the double fulfilment of this prediction, when Temple succeeded Tait in the sees of London and of Canterbury, suggests a doubt whether other predictions, which seemed more probable, have been fulfilled. Mr. Harrison thought that the influence of the Essayists would be injurious to honesty ; but

¹ *Creed*, p. 104.

it would hardly be maintained that Dr. Temple taught men to be insincere. He thought that adherence to the Catholic Faith would be shaken ; but who will aver that the Creed of the Incarnation is less vigorously taught now than in 1860 ? If Mr. Harrison were in the habit of criticizing himself he might have reprinted his essay as an interesting example of anticipations which have not been fulfilled. We do not mean that there are not many among us who are unsettled, nor to deny that some part of this unsettledness is due to the movement represented by the Essayists ; but we do maintain that the last forty years have been a season of revival of Christianity. Much that was generally accepted before 1860 has been reviewed and modified ; we no longer speak of the Inspiration of the Bible and the Atonement in the language which was prevalent then ; but when our eyes run over the shelves laden with the works of Maurice and Lightfoot and Westcott and Gore and Moberly and Sanday and Illingworth and DuBose, and many others, it is hard to see the last efforts of a dying obscurantism, or the flicker of a discredited and disintegrated Creed. We would not make too much of a supposed change among men of science, rendering them less sure of their own processes and more willing to allow room for religious belief ; but it is just to see, through clouds which still bewilder us, the grey rock of Ebenezer. May we tell an illustrative story ? When, very early in the nineteenth century, the writer's father went to Norwich for Ordination, he made friends with a young man on the same errand. This man's examination for Holy Orders consisted in a demand from the Bishop for several texts in support of the doctrine of the Incarnation. ' The Incarnation, my Lord,' he replied, ' I do not know that I ever heard the expression.' The kindly prelate supposed that he was flurried, and bade him return in an hour's time with the texts required : he went to his acquaintance, borrowed from him the requisite information, returned, and quoted it to the Bishop—and was ordained. Would such a story be credible of a recent examination ? Would a boy be presented for Confirmation on the ground that he could run off a list of the Popes and

answer a question on antiquities ? And is it at all sure that the world at large is less favourably disposed to Christianity than it was in the days of Huxley and Tyndall and Spencer ?

Mr. Harrison is very contemptuous towards miracles. He assumes that a miracle is an intervention of God to override natural laws ; and he disregards the view that a miracle is not the intervention of an absent God but a special operation of God who is perpetually operative in His universe. A miracle is just a striking display of a Power greater than that of ordinary men. The engineer who draws a load of ore across Africa by the aid of a little coal and water, or a watchmaker who brings there an instrument which can measure time, is a worker of miracles to the savage natives. He does what they cannot do : they cannot even conceive the way in which it is done. But he does it, not by infringing the laws of nature, but by adapting them. If the Gospel miracles really occurred, they would shew that One was present who had a control over the laws of nature greater than ordinary men possess. Nor is the Worker an intruder into a world from which He has hitherto been absent, and which fulfilled its regular course without Him ; for the Christian, at least, believes that God is ever in His world, and that whatever takes place in it is by His power. The Christian, then, is not unreasonable if, persuaded by historical evidence, he supposes that God, who is ever operative in the world, did on a certain occasion so adapt its laws as to produce an effect which ordinary men could not produce. The question is primarily one of evidence. There is no just *à priori* prejudice. A miracle is a sign of power ; if it be also a sign of goodness it is so in connexion with general knowledge of the Worker's character. A physician works a miracle among villagers by resuscitating a drowned man : if we have reason to believe that he is a good man then his mighty work is also a good work. Mr. Harrison will have no account of miracles than that they break the laws of Nature, which else is complete without God, and that therefore they are estopped *à priori* by the universality of natural law ; therefore he regards belief in them as impossible on the part of an instructed man.

He is equally contemptuous of prayer. Several times he brings forward the argument that it is inconceivable that God, if He exists, should take heed of the petty occupants of a tiny planet. We do not rely on the argument which has lately been stated by Dr. Russel Wallace, that this is probably the only world in which life such as we call human can exist; because we have absolutely no information as to the circumstances under which intelligence and conscience can exist. If all the stars are peopled by millions of men, yet we cannot hold our faith unreasonable that each inhabitant of them is cared for by God. If we are asked whether the supposed inhabitants of burning Mercury and frozen Saturn are men in the sense in which we are familiar with men, whether they have sinned, how they are delivered from sin, whether by a repetition of the Act of Calvary, or by some unknown operation of the Love which that Act displayed, we refuse to entertain questions which are beyond our ken as they are beyond our need. All we can be sure about is that such a God as He whom we know is not a God who can leave any of His creatures anywhere without the aid he needs. Without bringing in the conception of omnipresence, which to men of Mr. Harrison's temper is unmeaning, we have enough encouragement from our observation of men to believe that the higher an intelligence the wider will be the scope of its knowledge and interest. The sot hardly looks beyond himself and his cup; the great and good man is interested in hosts of persons, in innumerable demands.

But to Mr. Harrison prayer is not only futile but injurious.

'It is in vain,' he says, 'to talk about the spiritual efficacy of prayer in the exalted sense. The vast percentage of actual prayers are almost as childish—some of them as odious—as the prayers howled forth by African savages or Asiatic fanatics. It is my own experience that in ordinary cases and for common minds the habit of Prayer as now taught and practised degenerates into gross self-seeking—far from moral, and usually trivial in a social point of view. How much of private prayer in the vulgar practice of average mankind seeks for any good thing for others, at least outside the immediate circle of our kith and kin? How

much is for spiritual blessing apart from material advantage ? . . . I do not doubt that the conventional prayer of to-day . . . tends to lower the moral nature by stimulating the instincts of Self.' ¹

Whence Mr. Harrison gets his average we cannot say. Our own experience, which is largely that of one who has tried to help others to pray, is very different. Has he never heard that intercession is part of a Christian's duty, not altogether neglected ? We think of instances to the contrary—of the servant-girl praying to be kept pure in temptation, of the invalid saved from self-concentration by constant prayer for others, of a man nerved to meet danger by prayer for grace, of the dying miner consoled and consoling his companions by prayer as the deadly gas reaches them. People do not publish statistics of their prayers, nor do we imagine that many persons who pray confide the nature of their prayers to Mr. Harrison. But if we admit his statement, we still demur to his inferences. Is it selfish to desire material advantages ? Is a man to be blamed who desires greater wealth, or recovery from sickness, and who spends much effort to obtain these advantages ? And if it is not culpable selfishness to seek a more lucrative position, or to consult a physician, how does selfishness come in when we make our requests known to God ? No doubt, many prayers are selfish, because many men are selfish ; but at least the selfishness meets in prayer with what may well correct it—with the sobering sense that we kneel before Holy Love, with the reminder to ask ' Thy will be done.' Many a selfish desire dies away when we look at it in an atmosphere of prayer. Mr. Harrison asks, ' When the politician is troubled about the framing of a new law, the complications of international policy, the reform of an ancient abuse, does he to-day " seek counsel of the Lord " ? ' ² Are not such instances as Lord Shaftesbury, General Gordon, and Mr. Gladstone ³ worth mentioning ?

Mr. Harrison is not slow to admit that Christianity was, in its day, a great influence for the good of Humanity.

¹ *Creed*, p. 11.

² *Creed*, p. 62.

³ *Life*, i. 201.

He gives it credit for being 'a part of, an introduction to, the Human Faith.'¹ 'We rob none,' he says, 'of their faith. We destroy none. We despise none.' The method he uses to shew his respect is to regard Christianity as irreversibly tied to all that he was taught as a schoolboy, to shut his eyes to all earlier and later expressions of it, to turn a deaf ear to all explanations of it in view of recent questions; and then to assail it wherever he has an opportunity, sometimes with argument, more frequently with sarcasm and rhetoric. We can respect the man who uses all his power to destroy what he considers a malignant superstition; but we are not enamoured of the policy of Joab, who takes his enemy by the beard to kiss him, and strikes a sword into his ribs.

Our ancestors, when they had demolished a pagan temple, often built a Christian church on its site and with its materials. Mr. Harrison, having destroyed Christianity, erects in its stead the Religion of Humanity. Its foundation is the Organic Unity of Mankind, the duty of mutual service, and the realization that in the evolution of the race we are enveloped in a current of advance, more mighty than ourselves, which may be called a Human Providence. Its walls are all that is proved by science, and nothing else; such matters as the existence of God and the perpetuity of man's life being left aside as matters of no practical importance. Its congregation is to consist not only of the disciples of Auguste Comte, but of all who honour humanity and revere science, provided they do not mind their private beliefs being ridiculed. It is intended to provide a home for the whole human race, when, as is sure to be the case, they are driven from the old religion by the wasting away of its superstitions. At present it seems to have but a small body of adherents. If these belong chiefly to an intellectual aristocracy, there can be little comfort in this to the founders of a movement which is nothing if it is not democratic. It has its sacraments, not, of course, in the sense of means of grace, but in the Roman military sense of pledges to the service of humanity; and we cannot but applaud the

¹ *Creed*, p. 61.

wisdom of providing a solemn form of self-dedication at such momentous times as the choice of a profession or retirement from it. 'The normal idea of worship is an artistic social ceremony, deepening the sense of moral duty.'¹ The method adopted is mainly sermons, varied with didactic hymns. We believe that some sort of ceremonialism is used in France, but by English common-sense all this is eschewed, at least in Mr. Harrison's congregation.

We have never been among those who have denied to this institution the name of religion. A very different estimate was taught us in Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection*. Rather, we accept Comte's doctrine of a Hierarchy of Sciences, while we maintain that there lies a science above all those which are based on the study of physical objects, because we regard man as capable of knowledge of God. If the method of this highest science differs from that of the so-called natural sciences, the same observation may be made of the natural sciences themselves, as they rise in order and dignity one above the other.

'At present, science suffers at least as much as religion from partial and contracted views. The student of physics perpetrates as many solecisms as the student of theology. Every one would feel the absurdity of a geometrician denying a fact in morals because it is not deducible from his premises; and yet it is not a rare thing to hear some explorer of inorganic nature gravely argue that nothing can be known of God, because his inquiries give no direct result as to His being or His attributes.'²

We feel that Christians may learn a needed lesson from the Positivist—that all knowledge belongs to an identical hierarchy, rising from height to height, and that therefore to us who believe in Christ no sort of knowledge can be truly regarded as other than religious: each discloses more and ever more of the truth of God; each is imperfectly valued until it is looked upon as leading towards the throne of God. Thus only can theology be restored to her place as the crown of sciences. Too often the believer looks upon natural science as something apart from religion. Again,

¹ *Creed*, p. 361.

² *Gospel of the Resurrection*, p. 262.

we value the testimony of the Positivist to the truth that religion, crowning social science, must embody its results, and be not merely individual but social. Too often we have been content to regard religion as a secret matter between a man and his God. Such individualism is dying, but it is dying slowly, and its death may be hastened by the assertion that religion is the highest expression and the sole satisfactory bond of society. Finally, since we must own that many able and excellent men are at present unable to attain to belief in revealed religion, we rejoice that a way has been proposed by which they may retain a part of religion in spite of their unbelief. It is no small advantage that they may still cling to the religion of humanity. If an Alpine climber falls from the path, we rejoice if he finds some sort of footing on a rocky ledge.

But when we read a Positive book we have that strange impression that the place is familiar—that we have been here before. It was not from Comte that we learned the Religion of Humanity. We learned some part of it from our parents, who shewed us that if we would please God we must love our brethren : we learned more of it when we were shewn how the second great commandment flows out of the first. We learned it more perfectly when we learned the Love which made the Son of God take upon Him the nature of man, and thus made all men brethren in Christ—in Christ, by whom all things were made, and in whom all are redeemed. And in spite of much selfishness we were not blind to the truth that he who would serve God must serve men. The saints knew this, and were worshippers of Humanity because they were worshippers of the True Man ; and if we have been brought back to this worship by the testimony of some who know not Christ as the real clue to humanity, we must be grateful to them, and patient with them, and not put difficulties in their way by selfishness which, if it is contrary to the Positive religion, is much more contrary to the religion of the Gospel.

HERBERT H. JEAFFRESON.

ART. VIII.—IRREGULAR MARRIAGES AND THE EARLIEST DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

1. *Theodosiani Libri XVI*. Ediderunt TH. MOMMSEN et PAULUS M. MEYER. Two volumes. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905.)
2. *Collectio Canonum Ecclesiae Hispanae*. Ed. F. A. Gonzalez. (Madrid, 1808.)
3. *Canones Apostolorum et Conciliorum Saeculorum IV. V. VI. VII*. Ed. H. T. BRUNS. Two volumes. (Berlin, 1839.)
4. *Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien*. Ed. FR. LAUCHERT. (Freiburg i. B., and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896.)
5. *The Law of the Church as to the Marriage of a Man with his Deceased Wife's Sister*. By JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. (London: S.P.C.K., 1908.)
6. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, 1908. Report (No. VIII.) upon the Subject of Marriage Problems*. (London: S.P.C.K., 1908.)

THE following pages were written before the hearing and judgement in the suit *Bannister v. Thompson* in the Court of Arches. But it needed no prophet to foresee, after the passing of the Act of 1907, that distress and scandal were only too certain to arise, the moment that any of those who had taken advantage of the Act claimed that the civil and legal sanction now given to their marriage entitled them without further question to present themselves, and to be accepted, as communicants. To admit the claim was to admit the right of the State to revise and regulate the action of the Church in the most purely spiritual matters. To refuse it on the only ground apparently applicable under the rubric, namely, that the parties were 'notorious evil livers,' was in effect to adopt the position that persons thus united, being not really married to one another at all, must be refused Communion even on their death-beds, unless a promise of separation could be obtained; nay more, that they were in the eyes of the Church free to contract a new and genuine marriage, so that the State might be punish-

ing them for bigamy at the same moment and for the same cause that the Church was re-admitting them to Holy Communion. That might be a not improper result, if we conceived of the State as having no *locus standi* at all in questions of marriage; but no instructed citizen could take this view, any more than an instructed Churchman could take the view that the internal discipline of the Church was to be modelled and remodelled at will by the sole authority of the State.

Between these extremes, the instinct of most of us—except those to whom a *via media* is always wrong—will probably be to try to feel our way towards some reconciliation of the conflicting claims which shall do justice to the principles underlying each of them. To this search after principles the historian and canonist may make his contribution, in examining the character of ecclesiastical prescriptions upon the subject of these marriages in the early days when the State still recognized them, as it has in England begun to recognize them again, as legitimate. It is, therefore, the purpose of the present article, first, to reconstruct from the Theodosian Code the story of the civil prohibition of these unions under gradually accumulating penalties; secondly, to gauge the precise scope and meaning of the only definite enactment in the Western Church which the canonical collections have preserved from the period anterior to the civil prohibition; and, lastly, to draw whatever conclusions seem justified as to the conception which this enactment appears to imply of the relative parts in the matter assigned to Church and State. The enquiry was undertaken, it is believed, with an honest desire to follow ‘whithersoever the argument leads’; but the satisfaction with which the enquirer reached his conclusion may perhaps be felt in some quarters to affect his qualifications as a guide.

I.

Let us look first at the provisions of the Civil Law. No prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife’s sister is found in Roman law until Christian influence, during the course of the fourth century, began to exert itself

directly upon the imperial legislation. Our knowledge of this legislation for the century after Constantine is derived mainly from the great systematic compilation which the Emperor Theodosius II. issued in A.D. 438, and which from him is known as the Theodosian Code. But as the object of the Emperor and his advisers was legal and practical, rather than antiquarian and historical, such laws only of Theodosius' imperial predecessors were admitted into the new Code as had not been definitely abrogated by later enactments; while, on the other hand, as the Theodosian Code did not aim, like the *Code Napoléon*, at recasting the whole system *ab initio*, but only at classifying in convenient form the material which constituted the law of the Empire as it stood at the moment, it had to include many laws that might be in some of their details inconsistent one with another. In other words, though the object of the Code was not historical, the form which was given to it involved a good deal of history; and under each subsection the laws are chronologically arranged, so that the development of legislation on any particular subject could be understood at a glance.

Unfortunately, the Theodosian Code—presumably because it was superseded less than a century later by the Code which Justinian published in 529—has only come down to us in an imperfect condition. Not more than the last eight of the sixteen books of the Code are complete; for the first eight—and the law of marriage is dealt with in Book III.—we have to fall back on the *Breviarium Alarici*, an abbreviated form (as its name implies) of the Code, containing just so much as the legal advisers of Alaric, King of the Visigoths, thought necessary for the government of the Roman subjects of the Visigothic State. As Alaric's capital was at Toulouse, where the *Breviarium* was promulgated in 506, the selection was made by Romano-Gallic lawyers; and, indeed, Lyons, the chief city of Roman Gaul, appears to have been the principal centre of legal study, and of the reproduction of legal manuscripts, throughout the whole of the West.¹ The work of the editors was of

¹ See the *data* collected in Mommsen and Meyer's edition of the Code, p. xxxviii.

two kinds: they suppressed whatever appeared of lesser importance in the Theodosian Code—so that not more than one third of the Code, it is calculated, survives in the Breviary—and they added an official ‘interpretatio’ of their own wherever the text of the imperial constitutions (or such of them as they retained) appeared to require elucidation. All that we can say, then, about the history of the civil prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife’s sister in the fourth and early fifth century is what the Theodosian Code preserved out of the legislation of the earlier Christian emperors, and what Alaric’s lawyers preserved in turn out of the Theodosian Code.

But though only three laws have survived this double process of selection, they offer us sufficient evidence of the rapidity with which public (or at any rate official) opinion matured upon the subject in the course of two generations. Thirty years had elapsed from the Council of Nicaea before the first known prohibition of these marriages appears in the Civil Law; and even when in 355 Constantius, no doubt under episcopal influence, saw his way to forbid them, his language was almost apologetic in tone. In 396 they are included, though not without explanation, in a general clause discriminating ‘incestuous marriages’ of the less serious kind, and mitigating the penalties which nominally attached to them; while in 415 such unions are the subject of a special law which expressly provides that they are to be reckoned as incest. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that no other degree of affinity save those of wife’s sister and husband’s brother is so far brought within the circle of civil prohibition.

With so much of preface, let us turn to examine more exactly the structure and language of Book III., chapter xii., of the Theodosian Code (pp. 150–153 of the magnificent edition of Mommsen and Meyer), which, under the heading ‘DE INCESTIS NUBTIIS,’ embraces the changes introduced into the marriage law of the pagan Empire by a century of Christian legislators from Constantine to Theodosius II. These changes, we find in effect, reduce themselves to two. The new prohibitions are aimed, on the one hand, at the

marriage of uncle and niece, and, on the other, at the marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister or of a woman with her deceased husband's brother.

It is not surprising that the language of the two prohibitions is different. Marriage of uncle and niece had been unheard of among the Romans until the Emperor Claudius, desiring to make Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, his wife, and not being able to avail himself, as later Christian sovereigns learned to do, of any system of dispensation 'for reasons of State,' induced the Senate to decree the legality of the union of an uncle with his brother's daughter; and this condition of things remained apparently unaltered till A.D. 342. Yet it may be presumed that the Christian objection to such marriages was reinforced by no inconsiderable body of non-Christian sentiment, for otherwise the new law of Constantius and Constans in the year mentioned would hardly have gone so far as to fix death as the penalty for transgression. Very instructive is the contrast of the law by which, thirteen years later, Constantius¹ made illegal all unions, whether with a deceased or divorced wife's sister, or with the wife of a brother who had died or divorced her; for no penalty is here attached, save that the children will be illegitimate, while the approval of such marriages by the law or sentiment of earlier times is frankly admitted.²

More than a generation elapses before the appearance of the next constitution preserved in this chapter of the Theodosian Code. Arcadius and Honorius, in a law of 396,³

¹ 'Constantius and Constans, the Augusti, and Julian Caesar,' according to the existing text of the Code; but Constans had been dead some years.

² 'Etsi licitum veteres crediderunt, nubtiis fratris solutis, ducere fratris uxorem, licitum etiam post mortem mulieris aut divortium contrahere cum eiusdem sorore coniugium; abstineant huiusmodi nubtiis universi, nec aestiment posse legitimos liberos ex hoc consortio procreari, nam spurios esse convenit qui nascentur.'

³ 'Si quis incestis posthac consobrinae suae vel sororis aut fratris filiae uxorisve eius postremo (cuius vetitum damnatumque coniugium est) sese nubtiis funestavit, designato quidem lege supplicio, hoc est ignium et proscriptionis, careat, proprias etiam quamdiu vixerit teneat facultates: sed neque uxorem neque filios ex ea editos habere credatur,

deal on the same basis with three varieties of 'incestuous marriages' so called, those with a first cousin, with a niece, and with a brother's wife, and exempt them from the conditions that attached to incestuous unions in general. In place of penalties which by their severity must have overreached themselves and, except in very flagrant cases, can hardly have been enforced, they substitute a scheme of financial disabilities, under which neither the partner nor the issue of such marriages were to be capable of receiving anything from the other partner or from the parents respectively, either by way of gift during lifetime or under testamentary disposition after death. Where there were no legitimate next-of-kin within certain degrees, the estate was to pass to the Treasury; and in the needs of the imperial exchequer we may, perhaps, see a partial explanation of the disappearance of more drastic but less profitable penalties. But in return for their clemency the Emperors are unsparing of that language of moral disapprobation which lends such a curious theological flavour to the laws of the Christian Empire. Those who contract any of these unions 'pollute themselves with incestuous marriages,' and 'are defiled with the illicit wickednesses of the aforesaid marriages.' Only in one parenthetical phrase, though that is a noteworthy one, is there any indication of a difference in the estimate of marriage with a deceased wife's sister and marriage with a niece; the former union, as the Emperors think it necessary specifically to mention, 'has been forbidden and condemned'—doubtless by the law of Constantius, already quoted above.

It is worth remark that the 'interpretation' which follows this law of Arcadius and Honorius adds a further stipulation, as a condition apparently of the immunity accorded from existing penalties—namely, the separation of the parties, 'ut de tali consortio separetur.' But the 'interpretation' has nothing to do with the Theodosian Code itself, still less, of course, with the original authors of

nihil prorsus praedictis (ne per interpositam quidem personam) vel donet superstes vel mortuus derelinquat . . . id sane, quod de viris cavimus, etiam de feminis quae praedictorum sese consortiis commacularent custodiatur.'

the law ; it represents only the view of the meaning of the law taken by the experts who drew up the *Breviarium* at the beginning of the sixth century. And in this particular case their gloss appears to derive no sort of justification from the actual language of Arcadius and Honorius : it rather reflects the increasing rigidity of the conceptions which had matured in the intervening century.

The remaining law of this section of the Code is dated in 415, and, like that of 355, deals not with forbidden degrees in general, but with the single case of marriages with a deceased wife's sister. Such unions are to be ranked as incest, and the issue of them are illegitimate and incapable of succession to the paternal inheritance.¹ One may suppose that the earlier legislation had not been wholly successful in achieving its object, or it would hardly have been necessary to repeat the same prohibition in stronger language. Certainly it is a curious comment upon the laws of 396 and 415 that Honorius, joint author of both of them, should in the interval between them have contracted successive marriages with two daughters of Stilicho, Maria and Thermantia. In theory, from the middle of the fourth century onwards, the State had more and more closely identified its marriage law with the marriage law of the Church ; but it was only gradually that theory became effective in practice. Even the theory does not appear to have extended itself as yet to cover other degrees of affinity ; there is no sign so far of any adoption of the general principle that affinity is a bar to marriage to exactly the same degrees as consanguinity.

II.

Most people derive their impression of the Canon Law from the stately and comprehensive form of it which, in the *Decretum* of Gratian, dominated the ecclesiastical life of the Middle Ages. But Canon Law is not always or necessarily

¹ 'Tamquam incestum commiserit, habeatur qui post prioris coniugis amissionem sororem eius in matrimonium proprium crediderit sortendam : pari ac simili ratione etiam, si qua post interitum mariti in germani eius nuptias crediderit adspirandum' etc.

systematic and stately. The Orthodox Church has never officially systematized, in the manner of the *Decretum*, the conciliar and patristic material—practically all of it Greek—which it recognizes as authoritative. Even in the West the *Decretum* represents the culmination of a development which had occupied many centuries from the period of the first tentative beginnings of a Canon Law. In its earliest days the Church possessed no formulated code or codes of any sort, except in so far as Holy Scripture might be regarded under that aspect. From time to time, as the conciliar movement rooted itself in Church life, such questions of discipline as arose within the jurisdiction of individual bishops were brought by them before their colleagues in council, and the decision of a particular case was often thrown into a general form. Occasionally a special set of circumstances might give rise to a whole crop of new disciplinary problems which would be substantially the same in all neighbouring dioceses; and the foundations of Canon Law in its most inchoate form were laid when the cessation of the Diocletian persecution enabled the local episcopate in different parts of the Empire to meet and take common counsel in settlement of the difficulties which the persecution in its various stages had directly or indirectly caused. But though four codes have come down to us of councils held within the decade 305–315—Elvira and Arles, Ancyra and Neocaesarea—it is something like a century later before we can see at work the tendency to collect the codes of different councils into a single *corpus*. Even then no attempt was made to do more than place the various legislations side by side. In the East, indeed, the material thus brought together was relatively more homogeneous, just because it included hardly any Western elements; but the Western collections were always made up in part of Eastern documents, and a normal Western *corpus* of the fifth or sixth century would consist of three independent series, viz., a translation of the canons of Eastern councils down to either Constantinople or Chalcedon, some at least of the decretal letters of the Popes from Damasus or Siricius onwards, and a varying proportion of local and national

matter, Gallic, Spanish, or African, as the case might be. The natural result was that inconsistent enactments reposed side by side within the boards of the same volume. A canon of Ancyra allowed deacons to marry after ordination, if at the time of their ordination they had given the bishop due notice of their intention ; but one papal letter after another laid down a system of exactly opposite regulations, and the collectors had either to tamper with their documents or—we may attribute it to their carelessness or to their sense of honour, as we will—to leave the inconsistencies untouched. In other words, there was no such thing in early times as a formulated body of ecclesiastical law having universal validity in the sense in which the imperial constitutions of the Code possessed such validity in the civil sphere. Something of the sort certainly attached in theory to the canons of Nicaea ; but in fact those of the Nicene prescriptions which ran most counter to Western custom—the last two, that is to say, of the canons—were either omitted or ignored.

We must beware, then, of attributing an undue weight to isolated canons or councils. They are not necessarily evidence for more than their own time and place ; and, even so, they may on occasion represent rather some decision on an individual case hastily thrown into a universal form, than a calculated and intentional contribution to a permanent system of law. We must always look behind and around, and try to identify the elements of principle, tradition, custom, circumstance. The historian in us must be at work to check and control the lawyer.

In approaching now the particular subject of prohibited marriages, we shall hardly doubt that the starting-point of Christian legislators, if they had aimed at constructing anything like a complete code, would have been found in the enactments of Leviticus (xviii. 6-18). Yet even these, though they supply the material for a systematic table of prohibited degrees, are themselves not consistently uniform ; or at least, in so far as they are, the special relationship with which we are concerned is expressly excepted. Whether any real doubt underlies the meaning of the Massoretic

text of Leviticus xviii. 18, the writer is not qualified to say ; but it is at any rate clear as daylight that, as represented by the LXX, the Old Testament prohibition of marriage with a wife's sister is confined to bigamous marriages—that is to say, to the lifetime of the first wife.¹ And Dr. Lock has shewn² that this is really the sense in which it was interpreted by Philo as by other Jews.

It was the LXX, and not the Hebrew text, which was the Bible of the early Christian Church ; and, therefore, in so far as the Christian Church either took over the marriage law of the Old Testament from the first, or consciously went back to it at a later period for the materials of a marriage code, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that marriage with a deceased wife's sister would have been regarded as unlawful. Nor does the New Testament contain, upon the subject of prohibited degrees, any such definite abrogation of the Jewish law as it does upon the subject of divorce. Nor is there anything in the literature of the first three Christian centuries to suggest that the Church had already elaborated such indications of principle as are contained in the New Testament into any definite and complete line of demarcation between lawful and unlawful unions. All that we can say is that the New Testament ideal of marriage is set forth as higher than the Jewish ; and that, therefore, the principles of the New Testament, as worked out in the experience of the Christian Society, might, and did, result in a new and stricter view than the Jewish one of prohibited degrees.

But it was still a far cry, at the beginning of the fourth century, to any formulation of the doctrine that affinity is a bar to marriage in the same degree as consanguinity. The form and character of the earliest enactments on the subject which have come down to us suggest that we are still in the region of empiric and more or less haphazard dealing with problems as they arose. In the everyday life of a community questions about marriage would naturally be of frequent occurrence ; and it is not surprising that,

¹ ἀντίζηλον, ἔτι ζωῆς αὐτῆς.

² *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1908, ix. 300.

among the canons of the four earliest councils above-mentioned, two are specifically concerned with the deceased wife's sister in one or other aspect of the matter. The sixty-first canon of the Synod of Elvira, held in Spain after the slackening of persecution *circa* 305-6, treats of the man who marries in succession two sisters; the second canon of the Synod held about ten years later at Neocaesarea in Pontus is concerned with the case of the woman who marries in succession two brothers. Each forbids the union which was respectively in question, and we may reasonably conclude from their agreement that the Church of the fourth century instinctively recoiled from the recognition of such unions as Christian marriages in the full meaning of the term. But in neither case is there any reference to accepted general principles, and in neither case is any attempt made to embrace the parallel case of the wife of two brothers or husband of two sisters. Therefore we must, it would seem, be very cautious of interpreting ambiguous prescriptions of the one canon in the light of any clearer prescriptions of the other. In particular there is no such presumption of homogeneity in these matters between East and West as would justify us in transferring without further examination the discipline of Asia Minor to Spain, or of Spain to Asia Minor. Each canon must be explained, if explanation is needed, by comparison with other prescriptions of its own code, or, failing these, with the prescriptions of the codes nearest to it not only in time but in place. We may interpret Elvira by Elvira, or if need be by Arles; we must be chary of thinking that we can interpret Elvira by Neocaesarea.

The meaning of the actual words of the canon of Neocaesarea is fortunately free from serious ambiguity.¹ Three rules are laid down. In the first place, the woman who has contracted a union with her husband's brother is to be excluded from Communion for life; but, in the second

¹ Γυνή εὖν γήμηται δύο ἀδελφοῖς, ἐξωθείσθω μέχρι θανάτου· πλὴν ἐν θανάτῳ, διὰ τὴν φύλανθρωπιάν, εἰποῦσα ὡς ὑγιάνασα λύσει τὸν γάμον, ἔξει τὴν μετάνοιαν· εὖν δὲ τελευτήσῃ ἢ γυνή ἐν τοιοῦτῳ γάμῳ οὖσα, ἥτοι ὁ ἀνὴρ, δυσχερὲς τῷ μέιναντι ἢ μετάνοια.

place—to avoid any suspicion of Novatianism—she may be re-admitted to Communion in mortal sickness, subject to a promise to dissolve the tie in the event of her recovery. Finally, if one of the two parties die without a separation having been effected, the survivor is only to be re-admitted to Communion with difficulty. But it is evident that these three rules do not exhaust the theoretical possibilities of the case. Not only is nothing said until the last clause of the exclusion or re-admission of the male partner,¹ but even the position of the woman is not fully settled, for we are not told what would happen if the parties agreed to separate before the death or mortal sickness of either of them : under what conditions, if any, would Communion have been restored to them ? But this much in any case is clear, that, so long as the parties lived together, Communion was refused to them.

It is natural to suppose that this represents the practice of the Eastern Church ; and we have already seen that the Gallic lawyers at the beginning of the sixth century also assumed the separation of the parties—whether brother-in-law and sister-in-law, uncle and niece, or cousin and cousin—as a necessary condition of the benefits accorded by the law of 396. When we find then that the canon of Elvira² fixes five years' exclusion from Communion as the ecclesiastical penalty for contracting such a union, we should have good ground, upon contemporary Eastern and later Western evidence, for interpreting this exclusion for five years as additional to, and not as a substitute for, the dissolution of

¹ Some of the Latin versions of the canon noticed, and did their best to remedy, this defect : thus the Spanish epitome of the Gallican version (but not that version itself) '*Mulier qui duos fratres maritos habuerit vel unus qui duas sorores . . .*'; the vulgate (but not the original) recension of the Isidorian version '*quae sententia tam viros quam mulieres tenere debet*'; and the titles (but not the text) of the canon in both recensions of the version of Dionysius Exiguus '*De his quae duobus fratribus nuptae fuerint [nupserint] vel qui duas sorores uxores acceperint.*'

² '*Si quis post obitum uxoris suae sororem eius duxerit, et ipsa fuerit fidelis, quinquennium a communione placuit abstinere, nisi forte velocius dari pacem necessitas coegerit infirmitatis.*'

the marriage tie ; nor is it strange that this interpretation has often, perhaps habitually, been given. But further enquiry points imperatively to the conclusion that it will not hold water.

In themselves the words of the canon are patient of either meaning. ' If any man, after the decease of his wife, should marry her sister, and she be a Christian, it is resolved that they be deprived of Communion for five years, unless perchance pressure of illness compels a speedier restoration to peace.' On the one side we have the parallel and contemporary canon of Neocaesarea, where re-admission to Communion depends on the promise to separate : on the other side is the absence, in the Elviran canon, of express indication of any other condition than the expiry of the five years. The doubt can only be solved by a careful and impartial examination of the language of the fathers of Elvira in other prescriptions of their code.

But it may be well to state first in a few words a preliminary objection, which is not unlikely to be urged against any such view as has been foreshadowed. Is it not implied, it may be asked, in the very inclusion of any wrong action in an ecclesiastical penal code, that the wrong-doing ceases before the wrong-doer is admitted to Church penance ? There is much *prima facie* force in the objection ; and yet it really rests, does it not, on the ever-recurring assumption that Canon Law was in its beginnings as sharply defined and as systematic as the *Code Napoléon*. Even on the ground of principle, there are other things than irregular ordinations to which the dictum *Fieri non debuit, factum valet* might be extended to apply. But it is better to keep the argument on the lower *terrain* of admitted facts ; and here the case of second marriages appears to provide us with just the parallel we want. It is well known with what extraordinary disfavour such marriages were regarded by the early Christians. Some of the sects—the Novatianists, for instance—refused to recognize those who contracted them while Christians as ever capable of Communion ; and though this excess of rigour probably served to produce reaction against it among the Catholics—so that no theoretical

questioning of the validity of second marriage was permitted in the Church—yet there is plenty of evidence that to the contraction of these valid unions a term of penance was often, perhaps generally, attached. We need quote no further authorities than the third and seventh canons of the Council of Neocaesarea, which are all the more effective for our purpose because they record an existing disability rather than invent a new one. ‘Concerning those who fall into divers marriages, the allotted time [of penance] is well known, but their conversation and their faith may abbreviate it.’ ‘A priest may not be a guest at the wedding feast of digamists: for since the digamist has to ask for admission to penance, what priest could countenance such marriages by his presence at the wedding breakfast?’¹

This preliminary objection having been put out of court, we are free to return unhampered to the closer examination of the Elviran code; and we should like first to call attention to the insertion in canon 61 of the words, ‘and if she be a Christian’ (‘et ipsa fuerit fidelis’). The penalties of the canon only apply if the deceased wife’s sister is a Christian. Similarly, the provisions of canon 9, about married women who leave an unfaithful husband to contract another marriage, only apply if the husband thus deserted is a Christian. In both cases the Christianity of the partner

¹ Canon 3 : *περὶ τῶν πλείστοις γάμοις περιπιπτόντων ὁ μὲν χρόνος σαφὴς ὁ ὠρισμένος, ἡ δὲ ἀναστροφή καὶ ἡ πίστις αὐτῶν συντέμνει τὸν χρόνον.* Canon 7 : *πρεσβύτερον εἰς γάμους διγαμοῦντων μὴ ἐστιᾶσθαι ἐπεὶ, μετάνοιαν αἰτοῦντος τοῦ διγάμου, τίς ἔσται ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὁ διὰ τῆς ἐστιᾶσεως συγκατατιθέμενος τοῖς γάμοις;* Of course it is understood that these canons are quoted here, not to shew that the same *praxis* prevailed in Spain (though probably it did), but only to rebut the presumption that a term of penance attached to marriage unions necessarily involved in the early Church the dissolution of the tie.

It is so striking that the canons of Elvira and Neocaesarea, when dealing with marriage with a deceased wife’s sister (or husband’s brother), both consider almost exclusively the case of the partner *who is marrying for the second time*, that the conclusion seems irresistible that the Christian sentiment of those days rested its disapproval of these unions at least in part on their digamous character. They were, in fact, specially obnoxious instances of second marriage. At Elvira no penalty, at Neocaesarea only a secondary one, attached to the monogamous character.

to the marriage in question is clearly the crucial consideration: and conversely the wrong-doing in canon 78 is apparently rendered less serious where the partner in guilt is a Jewess or Gentile woman. So far as the canons go, a Christian woman might abandon a pagan husband who had been unfaithful to her, and a Christian man might marry the pagan sister of his deceased wife, without incurring any definite penance. It is a little difficult to think that a union which in one set of circumstances is thus subjected to no penalty, other than such as might attach to any union of Christian and Gentile, would, when both parties were Christian, have been visited with consequences differing not only in degree (which would be natural enough) but in kind.

But it is not needful to lay much stress upon considerations of this kind. The conclusion will rest rather upon the results of a comparison of the cases in the Elviran code where separation is expressly mentioned as a condition precedent of Communion—or rather of admission to a fixed term of penance—with the cases where all mention of it is absent. If we can find any clear and consistent distinction between the two classes of cases, the presumption will be a strong one that, if separation is not mentioned in the latter cases, neither is it meant.

1. In two cases of adulterous connexions separation is definitely named. Canon 64: 'If any woman have lived, and continued to the end, in adulterous union with another woman's husband,¹ she may not be given even death-bed Communion; but if she leave him, then after ten years' "regular" [or possibly "genuine"] penance she may receive Communion.' Canon 70: 'If any woman have committed adultery with her husband's knowledge, it is resolved that he may not be given even death-bed Communion; but if after knowing of her adultery he have kept her with him for a certain time only, and then have left her, let him after ten years receive Communion.'

2. In the case of marriages, with whatever other censure they are visited, separation is never mentioned.

¹ 'cum alieno viro': possibly 'with another than her own husband.'

(a) Canons 8, 9 : ' Women who without any excuse leave their husbands and unite themselves to other [husbands] may not receive Communion even on their deathbeds ' ; ' A Christian woman who has left an unfaithful Christian husband, and is marrying another, should be forbidden to marry ; and if she do marry, let her not receive Communion in the lifetime of the husband she has left, save under necessity of illness.'

(b) Canons 15, 16 : Christian maidens may not be given in marriage to pagans, Jews, or heretics ; parents who act against this prohibition are to be excluded from Communion for five years. [Similarly the 12th (11th) canon of Arles enacts that Christian maidens who unite themselves to pagans are to be separated for a considerable time, ' aliquanto tempore,' from Communion.]

(c) Canon 66 : ' If any man takes his step-daughter to wife, it is resolved that, seeing that the union is an incestuous one, he be not given Communion even on his death-bed.'

(d) Canon 72 : ' If a widow commit adultery and afterwards marry her seducer, it is resolved that after five years' regular penance she may be reconciled to Communion ; if, however, she leave him and marry any other man, she may not receive Communion even on her death-bed.'¹

It can hardly be accidental that in no one of these cases of marriage, with whatever penalty they are visited, is any mention made of the separation of the married parties. We are, it would seem, almost compelled to deduce from the evidence as a whole the general conclusion that the Church's disapproval of particular kinds of marriage was, in the conception of the fathers of Elvira, to be effected by the purely ecclesiastical censure of exclusion from Communion ; in other words, the marriage law was still regarded as part of the province of the State. The Church, having as yet no Law in the later and stricter sense, but only a Discipline of which the sanction lay in excommunication, made no attempt to declare null a marriage which could be legally

¹ The remainder of this canon is of doubtful interpretation ; but it does not appear to affect the problem before us.

contracted¹; but it could and did say that such of its members as entered into unions permitted by the State, but regarded by the Church as falling below the ideal of Christian marriage, should forfeit their privileges of membership. Whether the forfeiture was temporary or permanent depended on the degree of disapproval which the particular union evoked; and from this point of view marriage with a deceased wife's sister was placed at Elvira in a different category from marriage with a step-daughter, and was visited with a lighter censure.

This interpretation of the fundamental thought which underlies the prescriptions of the marriage code (such as it is) of Elvira is, perhaps, a new one; but it may be claimed that it should not on that account be rejected without being weighed. Students of Canon Law are so accustomed to breathe the atmosphere of times when marriage came to be regarded more and more as falling under the province of the Church rather than of the State, that it may not be unnecessary to recall and emphasize the uniqueness of the only code, wherein marriage questions are treated at all fully, that has come down to us from the days when the Church had to define its attitude towards a marriage law which it had had no part in shaping, and for which it was in no wise responsible. Naturally, the state of things in this respect was modified, and profoundly modified, when Christian effort succeeded in raising the law of the State to a level with the law of the Church. But it cannot be overlooked that, regret it as we may, we ourselves have relapsed into the position of the contemporaries of the Synod of Elvira, and that, therefore, their principles of dealing with the problem constitute for us Western Christians the nearest parallel which antiquity affords.

C. H. TURNER.

¹ It would be rash, we think, to assume that even the fathers of Neocaesarea treated the marriage of a woman with her deceased husband's brother as null, in the sense that either of the parties to it was free to contract another union which would have been regarded as valid and legitimate.

ART. IX.—LIBERAL POLICY AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN IRELAND AND IN ENGLAND.

1. *Irish Universities Act*, 1908 [8 Edw. 7. ch. 38]. (London : Wyman and Sons, Ltd., 1908.)
2. *Elementary Education (England and Wales)*. *A Bill to regulate the conditions on which public money may be applied in aid of Elementary Education in England and Wales, and for other purposes incidental thereto*. Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed February 24, 1908. (London : Eyre and Spottiswoode.)
3. *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools : Report of an International Inquiry*. In two volumes. Vol. I., *The United Kingdom*. Vol. II., *Foreign and Colonial*. Edited, on behalf of the Committee, by M. E. SADLER, Professor of the History and Administration of Education in the University of Manchester. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908.)

MR. ASQUITH'S Administration is to be congratulated on one success, which has been won, strangely enough, in the field of Education. For a greater surprise, Mr. Birrell is the winner of victory ; his failure at the Board of Education for England is covered by the rewards of courage which he has reaped in Ireland. For the Irish Universities Act is the fruit of courage. That was said with some feeling by Mr. Balfour in the course of the generous compliment which he paid to the Irish Secretary on the passing of the Bill through the House of Commons. Never, perhaps, has a leader of the Opposition paid a finer tribute to a successful Minister ; for Mr. Balfour freely confessed his own failure in the same task. The issue from a troublesome controversy which Mr. Birrell had found was that which Mr. Balfour himself had sought ; he never made any secret of his wishes, but the difficulties in his way were always too great, and that chiefly because he lacked the spirit to confront them. This he acknowledged ; the judgement was inevitable in the light of Mr. Birrell's success, but not the less credit is due to him for the graceful acknowledge-

ment. The difficulties were the same for both Ministers ; they were due partly to the native toughness of all Irish problems, partly to the antagonism which a reasonable settlement aroused in a section of the majority of the House of Commons. The antagonism was found on both sides of the House, but it naturally counted for most as displayed in a Minister's own party. Mr. Balfour yielded to the resistance of his followers, and did nothing ; Mr. Birrell, with the support of his chief, pressed forward cautiously but firmly, and so won through. He deserved the compliments which he received.

And now we are disposed to ask why he should not return to the Board of Education and do for England what he has done for Ireland. The question of elementary education in England is not the same as the question of higher education in Ireland, but the difficulties are fundamentally the same and the true solution is the same in principle. Mr. Birrell has learnt wisdom since he made his first failure, possibly by studying the problem in surroundings where his own prejudices were less to the fore. It would be interesting to see how he has personally profited by the lesson. But the Ministry which has solved the educational difficulty of Ireland with general applause seems to be fixed in the purpose of dealing with the English question after a fashion threatening more confusion and further defeat. The sound principle applied to Ireland is rejected for England, even while it is clearly understood and clearly enunciated. Lord Crewe told the House of Lords why the Ministry pressed the Universities Bill. It did not represent an ideal ; it was not what the Liberal party would choose ; it involved consequences which many Liberals disliked ; but those consequences were what the people of Ireland desired. 'Popular education,' he said, 'in any country must be what the people of that country demanded in view of their beliefs and opinions, whether social or religious.' If, with some poetic licence, the work of a university may be called popular education, the work of elementary schools may be so called in sober prose ; but the elementary education demanded by the people of England

in view of their religious belief or opinion is precisely what the present Government refuses to allow.

The difficulty about the Irish Universities can be stated briefly. For more than three centuries there has been at Dublin a flourishing University, with one of the finest collegiate foundations in the world. In the days of persecution it sufficed ; for the penal laws, especially in their meaner and more sordid aspect, formed a solid social and religious caste from which alone the students of a university could be drawn. When the period of toleration arrived, Trinity College became a citadel of Protestant ascendancy. When the days of religious equality began, it remained exclusive. Meanwhile there was growing up, beyond the barriers of Protestantism, a youth eager for academic exercises. When at last the barriers were thrown down by the abolition of tests, theoretical reformers imagined the difficulty removed ; when it survived, they angrily asked why Irish papists could not go to Trinity, as English papists went to Oxford or Cambridge. It was idle to ask ; the thing was not done except in isolated cases, and practical men who knew something of Ireland never expected it to be done. It was easy to call the cause prejudice, and to scold ; but that was no remedy. What was the remedy ?

The obvious course was to found new universities, of the kind and colour desired. But universities are not easily formed. It was not only money that was lacking ; poor as Ireland is, vast sums are raised for religious purposes. There was a graver difficulty. For sufficiently practical reasons, no university can flourish in this kingdom unless it is fortified by a Royal Charter, and gives degrees which are recognized in law. The new universities in England have for the most part struggled upward to this recognition from very humble beginnings, in which they chiefly served some local needs. In Ireland there were two hindrances to this procedure : local needs were inconspicuous, and the hope of ultimate success was faint. Protestantism was up in arms at the first suggestion of a charter for a university of the kind which Irish feeling demanded, and

the strength of that opposition is shewn by Mr. Balfour's confession. Attempts were made, to one of which the world owes some of Newman's finest writing—the lectures on the idea and scope of a university.¹ But failure waited on them all. It became evident that nothing could be done except on the initiation of the State. A perverse but obvious plea of justice reinforced the demand for this solution. Trinity College was a royal foundation, connected from the first with the traditions of Protestant ascendancy ; what Trinity College had been for the dominant minority was the measure of that which was claimed for the now emancipated majority, and the Irish asked of a Government which they treated as hostile a gift which would be a supreme act of friendliness. But so they order things in Ireland. The demand was obstinately refused. Mr. Gladstone could see that justice and policy alike indicated compliance, and in 1873 he attempted a settlement which satisfied Cardinal Manning, though not Cardinal Cullen. Rejected as insufficient by the Irish, the Bill was attacked more vehemently from the opposite side by many English Liberals, and was defeated in the House of Commons by a majority of three. The action of the dissentients in their own party did critical injury to the Ministry. 'We have never recovered,' wrote Mr. Gladstone to his brother after the General Election of the following year, 'from the blow which they helped to strike on the Irish Education Bill.' The result was not merely a temporary set-back : the question was shelved. Mr. Balfour, in later years, saw as plainly as Mr. Gladstone what justice and policy demanded, and he made no secret of his conviction ; but he despaired of carrying his party with him. The Liberal leaders, having burnt their fingers once, were loth to meddle with fire.

It was not that nothing was done or had been done ; but the wrong thing was done. It is needless to recall the sorry history of the Queen's Colleges and of the Royal

¹ *The Idea of a University defined and illustrated* : I. In nine Discourses delivered to the Catholics of Dublin. II. In Occasional Lectures and Essays addressed to the Members of the Catholic University. (1852, 1858.)

University of Ireland. They were characteristic of the English administration of the country. Generously to give what nobody wanted and then to cry out upon the ingratitude of the donee, sedulously to offer Ireland what England liked and then to declare the Irish temperament impossible because the bounty was not appreciated—this was the common way. The story of these abortive institutions—we except the Queen's College of Belfast, which has flourished under special conditions—admirably illustrates the principle that we have quoted from Lord Crewe: it is useless to set up a system of popular education which clashes with the religious beliefs and opinions of the people.

And now, after so many blunders and so much hesitation, the Liberal party has once more tackled the problem, and succeeded. It was a delicate business, no doubt. Lord Crewe frankly told the House of Lords that he wished to push the Bill through before the Recess, because it was a matter of adjusted agreement, and if it were allowed to 'simmer' too long differences might develop. His taking the House so intimately into his confidence shewed that on the principle of the measure all reasonable men were agreed; delay might bring cranks to the fore, or give place for sharp controversy on points of detail. For this there were abundant opportunities. An examination of the text of the Bill would tell the inexperienced little of its real purport. Like many recent efforts of legislation it was in form designed to be little more than an 'enabling' Act. 'His Majesty may, if pleased to do so,' found universities and colleges by charter. The governing bodies are to be formed 'as His Majesty may be pleased to determine.' The royal pleasure is limited in some particulars, but is in other respects free. That is to say, the growing practice of legislation by the Cabinet or by special commissioners was followed. There was the familiar provision for laying statutes before Parliament during forty days, and for their annulment by a vote of either House. What was peculiar to the Bill was the avoidance of any reference to its acknowledged purpose. The conventions of the Liberal party required this. It was proclaimed upon the housetops that

the Bill was intended to satisfy the religious sentiments of the majority of the Irish people; but to define those sentiments in the text of the measure and to set out the process of satisfying them would have been to provoke acrimonious debate. The convention of reticence is understood in the Houses of Parliament; it is not so well understood elsewhere, and we can appreciate Lord Crewe's anxiety. But there was not only reticence; some pen-service was rendered by the draughtsman to the genius of the Liberal party. There is to be 'no test whatever of religious belief' imposed on any member or officer of the new universities and colleges; nor, it is enacted more straitly still, 'shall any preference be given to or advantage be withheld from any person on the ground of religious belief.' The Legislature prudently abstains from requiring that any Protestant shall be made to feel comfortably at home in university or college. By general consent there is to be an 'atmosphere' in the new institutions, and it is to be the religious atmosphere which the majority of Irishmen habitually breathe. But nothing is said of this in the Act: nothing is provided directly for the creation or preservation of this atmosphere. The end is sought by indirect means.

Was this silence devised merely as a concession to prejudice? Was it only an avoidance of phrases which would ruffle the Liberal or the Nonconformist conscience? But the intention was avowed. There may be much hypocrisy in the Legislature; but it will hardly reach so far as this. A prudent avoidance of matter which would lend itself to vexatious debate in Committee is more respectable; it is the cause of much reticence, and of much consequent obscurity, in recent legislation. But there is another possible motive for the drafting of the Irish Universities Act, and one which we would gladly believe to have been operative. A lesson has been learnt from repeated failures. It is becoming evident that the religious character of a teaching institution or of a working society is not to be secured by statutory obligations; it depends upon the persons engaged. The greater the

freedom allowed them, the more they will impress upon their surroundings the character of their own convictions. A college will not be made religious in tone or orthodox in teaching by the imposition of tests—the history of Oxford and Cambridge is conclusive on that head. The result, if it be achieved at all, will follow only from the personal influence of those engaged and from the constant pressure of a public opinion that is sufficiently fluid to operate in all parts. The Irish Universities Act leaves free scope for this kind of operation. One religious obligation, and one only, is imposed :

‘ Every professor upon entering into office shall sign a declaration in a form approved by the Commissioners jointly under this Act, securing the respectful treatment of the religious opinions of any of his class.’

That can hurt no reasonable man. Even controversy may be respectful. Professors and lecturers in theology or divinity are somewhat unnecessarily excepted from this obligation—whether because theologians are supposed to be inevitably rude, it does not appear. Upon these teachers also ‘ no test of religious belief shall be imposed by the governing body of either of the two new universities or any constituent college ’ as a condition of their ‘ appointment or recognition.’ But in this there is some subtlety. Out of the funds provided by Parliament for the new institutions nothing may be applied by the governing bodies ‘ for the provision or maintenance of any theological or religious teaching or study.’ Neither professorships nor scholarships may be so endowed. But there is a proviso :

‘ Nothing in this provision shall prevent the recognition by the governing body of the university of any professor of or lecturer in theology or divinity as a professor of the university so long as the professorship is founded and maintained entirely by means of private benefaction, or the use of any building belonging to the university or college for any teaching given by such professor, or for any other religious teaching no part of the cost of which is defrayed out of public funds.’

This clause speaks only of recognition ; the earlier clause spoke of ‘ appointment or recognition ’ by the

governing body. Reading the two together, we gather that the university may appoint a professor of theology provided he draws no salary from the funds supplied by Parliament, or may recognize a professor selected and appointed by some other authority. In neither case may the university impose a test; but the external authority nominating a professor may evidently impose any condition. Moreover, the university may accept that condition and see that it is fulfilled. For in the third section, already quoted, there is a significant distinction. It is broadly enacted that 'no test whatever of religious belief shall be imposed on any person as a condition of his *becoming or continuing to be* a professor' &c. But from this, again, theological professors and lecturers are excepted: 'provided that no test of religious belief shall be imposed by the governing body . . . on any such professor or lecturer as a condition of his *appointment or recognition* by the governing body.' In his case, then, the governing body may insist on certain religious obligations as a condition of his *continuing to be* a professor.

From this intricate arrangement it results that teachers of theology may be appointed under any specified conditions by an authority other than the governing body of the university; the governing body may recognize them, may pay them out of any funds supplied from private sources, and may allow their dismissal for a failure to comply with the conditions of their appointment. It is highly improbable that theological teachers will be appointed in any other way; the governing body itself will steer clear of such responsibility. The religious leaders of the Irish people will see to that, and will retain in their own hands the control of the school of theology. Irate Protestants accuse Mr. Birrell of trafficking—his own word used to be 'truck-ing'—with these leaders. He does not resent the accusation; he understands that leaders lead because they are followed, and his purpose of fulfilling the desires of the Irish people can be achieved only by consultation with those who are accepted by the people for guides. That a people should accept bishops and priests for guides may

be a deplorable thing : Mr. Birrell himself probably wishes it were otherwise ; but he is a practical politician, and deals with facts. Other facts also have to be regarded : principles, and prejudices that masquerade as principles, must be considered. Mr. Birrell could not ask the British Parliament avowedly and directly to put the religious teaching of one of the new universities under the control of the Romanist hierarchy in Ireland : he could only make arrangements under which that hierarchy, supported by public opinion, might seize the control. That the bishops concerned are satisfied with this proves their wisdom. They too have learnt something. On previous occasions they have lost ground by claiming the appearance of power ; now they are satisfied with the substance. It proves also their confidence in the support of the public, and that is a matter deserving consideration.

But theological learning is only one function of a university. Will the hierarchy be content to control this ? Directly, perhaps, yes ; but the avowed intention of all concerned is to give the new universities a religious character all through. One is to have a Presbyterian savour, and the other is frankly to be Roman Catholic. We put aside the institution at Belfast, and concentrate our attention on that which will have its headquarters at Dublin. How will the religious atmosphere be secured ? There is not a word about it in the Act. It will be secured only by the working of institutions. By the provisions of the Act, and still more, no doubt, by the terms of the coming charters, the thing designed will be effected as by a natural process. The new university and its constituent colleges will inevitably be framed and ordered according to the religious beliefs and opinions of the majority of Irishmen. They are to be homes of popular education as understood by Lord Crewe. No attempt will be made to hinder this. Otiose and offensive 'tests' there will not be ; but the steady pressure of public opinion will be free to do its work. The university will be what those who use it will to make it. On this head an interesting paper was read at the recent meeting of the British Association by Mr. T. P. Gill, the

secretary of the Department of Technical Instruction for Ireland. He spoke, it may be presumed, with good knowledge of the intentions of his superiors, possibly with some knowledge of the terms in which the Royal Charters will be drawn. A new university system, he said, was to be organized by Irishmen themselves. Hitherto methods had been imposed on them from without, but the means were now at hand by which they could shape them as they chose. Their power to do so, he declared, would be absolute; they need not go to Parliament any more; the work would be done at home, and three-fourths of the control would be in their own hands. The precise meaning of this fraction is not clear; it cannot have any reference to the composition of the governing bodies set out in the schedule to the Act, for the non-elected members of these form much less than a fourth of the whole; there may have been intended a hint that the Commissioners, appointed under the Act for two years to set the new universities in motion, will not use their statutory powers to the full extent. As the Act stands, they have the first appointment to all offices in each of the new universities and colleges, 'except as provided by the charter.' The issue of a charter providing for election from the first may be the justification of Mr. Gill's confident forecast. He had more to say. There were conditions favourable to the new departure. Ireland had the advantage of being a small country with a simple and homogeneous life. There had been failures, but they were due to a disregard of circumstances. Without religious teaching all their efforts would be labours of Sisyphus; but, when this truth was recognized, recovery would be quick—quicker than elsewhere, for the moral stuff of the Irish people was of the finest kind.

So an Irish official, perhaps optimistically. It may be granted that the educational problems of England are more intricate. England is not a large country, but it is thickly peopled, and it is certainly not the home of a simple and homogeneous life. The actual matter, indeed, in which the difficulties occur is simpler here than in Ireland. The debate is not about the higher education of the universities,

which Englishmen have settled to their liking, if not very successfully. It is not at present acute, even in regard to secondary education. It is the comparatively simpler matter of elementary education about which Englishmen are at loggerheads. We ask why a settlement should not be found by movement along the lines which are satisfactory in Ireland. The problem is of the same kind : the religious difficulty stands in the way. There are some superior persons who contend that there is no religious difficulty, or none that is not artificially raised by small groups of malcontents. In that case why is it not swept aside ? These complacent optimists—they are of all parties—belong to the school of those who contentedly ignore facts at any distance when their own immediate surroundings are delectable. The religious difficulty has wrecked Bills and shaken Ministries ; it has gravely affected more than one General Election. That should satisfy the practical politician of its reality. It is useless to say reproachfully that the religious difficulty is not in the schools but in Parliament, or that it is not in Parliament but on the platform. Wherever it be, it has to be met. But though the English problem is of the same kind as the Irish, it is far more complex in its kind. There is not here a homogeneous people demanding a consideration which prejudice has denied. There are various claimants for what they consider justice, and sometimes their claims run counter one to another. But though it is more complex than the Irish problem, it is susceptible of a solution fundamentally the same. It has been brought to a head by injudicious treatment of the same kind as was practised in Ireland. Various claimants have been offered just those things which they did not want. The weakness of Mr. Balfour's position in 1902 was that with one hand he dealt out to Nonconformists concessions which they did not value, and with the other laid on them burdens which they resented. The weakness of Mr. Birrell's position in 1906 was that he devised for denominationalists opportunities which they scorned and disabilities which made them furious. It was the old way of treating Ireland.

The new way is better. What is the essence of it, the principle that is transferable? Popular education, says Lord Crewe, must be in accordance with the religious beliefs and opinions of the people concerned. Who are those most nearly concerned? Evidently the children. But children of tender years cannot be consulted: they are approachable only through their parents. The religious beliefs and opinions that count are those of the parents. In some cases they are negligible, and may be neglected; those which count in practice are the beliefs of such as shew an interest in the matter. To a timid theorist it may seem no easy task to ascertain these beliefs or to give them effect. If that be so, we are content to point out that in genuine politics important tasks are seldom easy. It is the business of statesmanship to overcome difficulties. An easy way appears to offer itself in what is called the secular solution. But that is in truth no solution: it is a mere evasion, and would only postpone a settlement. To ignore religion, as Mr. Gill said, is to make labour Sisyphean. With growing concord experts bear this testimony. It is the witness of two bulky volumes of reports which the indefatigable industry of Professor Sadler has gathered from all parts of the world and offered within the last few weeks to the English reading public. Inquiring professedly into methods of moral instruction, Professor Sadler and his colleagues have been unable to keep clear of religion: some of them are unfriendly in the last degree to all that is commonly understood by religious instruction or the religious atmosphere; but there is a general assertion that a school is incomplete which is not expressly designed to influence the character of the child, and there is agreement only less general in the opinion that religious influence is of paramount value. And religion is rightly understood as an organized life; the vague sentimentalism which once dominated English thought about the subject seems to be giving way before experience. A passage from Professor Sadler's magistral introduction will state the result:

'As to the degree of necessary connection between moral instruction and religious teaching there are four contrasted

views. Some maintain that religious training and moral training are throughout inseparable. A second view is that moral instruction and training are wholly separable from religious teaching, and those who hold this opinion maintain that moral instruction in schools supported by public money should rest exclusively upon a non-theological basis. A third view is that, though the ultimate sanctions of moral education are found in religious faith, instruction in those sanctions should be entrusted to the family and to the religious bodies, the day school contenting itself with an appeal to those moral instincts and convictions which are shared by all. A fourth view is that moral training and religious teaching are in some essential points interdependent; that though the spheres of the two are in some respects distinct and separable (*e.g.*, in the teaching of manners and of many points of civic obligation) both are necessary for true education, *i.e.*, for that part of education which is given at school as well as for that imparted by the family or the religious body; and therefore, that while, so far as the great majority of schools are concerned, it is possible to secure both moral and religious teaching in forms acceptable to the parents of almost all the children in attendance, it is also necessary that, in view of differences in religious conviction, a due place should be given within the framework of national education to schools which are closely associated with religious bodies and which can give full expression to the principles of their corporate life.¹ Among those whom we have consulted each of these four views has strong supporters, but it is to the view last mentioned that the majority of our English witnesses seem to incline. Some, however, believe that the light thrown by psychological investigation upon the way in which spiritual truths are apprehended by young minds will make it possible to frame for school purposes forms of religious teaching which may meet with acceptance by the adherents of different faiths. But others, and probably the majority, are of opinion that changes in educational method will not touch the fundamental differences of conviction, though they may gradually abate some parts of present controversy.'

¹ 'It is not implied that freedom to establish and maintain such schools should be confined to organised religious bodies. Other forms of conviction, which do not conflict with the principles of social order, may (in the judgment of those who hold the view summarised above) justly claim a like consideration.' *Op. cit.* pp. xxiii-v.

Here is abundant common sense as well as expert knowledge. It is possible to construct a national system of schools in accordance with any one of these four views, and any such system may do good work. What is not possible is to construct a good and serviceable system on the basis of religious teaching that has no vital connexion with the religious practice of those concerned. We come back to the radical principle : a system of popular education must take account of the religious beliefs and convictions of the people. If schools with a religious element are demanded they must be supplied. It is unquestionable that such schools are demanded by the English people ; therefore the normal English school must be of that type. And the religion of the school must accord with the beliefs and convictions of those who use it. But the English people is not homogeneous in religion. Therefore the system cannot be in this respect homogeneous. The religious character of each school must be determined by its circumstances. This consequence flows irresistibly from the principles laid down by Lord Crewe. How can it be translated into practice ?

The Irish Universities Act shews the way. There is a vast difference between a university established for the youth of a nation and a school established for the children of a parish ; but they have something in common, and a common solution may be found for a common difficulty. The religious difficulty is common. It is to be solved in the Irish University by internal action. The members of the University are left free to settle it as they will. The law imposes upon them no religion, and no religious disabilities ; it secures only a fair field for all comers. The only restriction, the only concession to outside prejudice, is the restraint on the use of public money for specific theological teaching. Is not this treatment applicable to the English problem ? Wherever the religious difficulty starts—in the school or in Parliament, on the platform or in the Press—there is only one place in which it can be solved. It must be solved in the school. In this case internal control can only mean the control of parents.

If the Irish precedent is to be followed the task of statesmanship is to give effect to the wishes of parents by enabling them to secure in each several school that religious character which they desire. That is not to be done by the imposition of rules, positive or negative ; it will not be achieved by municipal control. Schools are not established for county councillors or for ratepayers ; they are for children and for their parents. Some means must be found for setting up a measure of parental control¹ ; a very simple machinery would suffice. The control should be free. It is sometimes alleged that parents in general are perfectly satisfied with the sort of religious instruction now provided in Council schools. But it is parents in particular who are to be considered. Apart from this, the assertion is not worth much, for it is based only on acquiescence in what is compulsory on the part of men and women who have no organization even for expressing dissatisfaction. Organized they might express satisfaction, and undenominational teaching would then be established in most schools on a sound and unassailable basis. On the other hand they might express a desire for something else, and achieve it ; in some cases they might even desire to put a school under ecclesiastical management. On the ground of popular control they should be free to do so. It may be well, after the Irish precedent, to conciliate prejudice by forbidding the use of public money for any formal religious teaching ; contributions for this purpose should flow in readily from private sources. The difficulty sometimes suggested that no provision can be made in this way for the children of careless or indifferent parents is merely imaginary ; for if the religious character of a school be determined by the majority of the parents who are interested, the religious teaching so provided will be avail-

¹ It must be remembered that the principle of 'parental control' does not mean that the majority of parents should decide how the children of the minority should be educated, but that any body of parents (except insignificant minorities, who must be satisfied with a conscience clause) must have a right to have their children taught in accordance with their own beliefs.

able for all children not expressly withdrawn. Special arrangements may be needed for dissentient minorities, where such declare themselves. Internal control, flexible and adjustable to circumstances, may then be achieved.

Hitherto nothing of the sort has been attempted, and therefore there is a religious difficulty. The Education Bill now before the House of Commons offers no solution; at the most it shifts and shuffles some elements of the difficulty. It makes a half-hearted attempt to provide for certain schools of a kind indicated as desirable by Professor Sadler, 'schools which are closely associated with religious bodies, and which can give full expression to the principles of their corporate life.' But it does this in a way calculated to mar the efficiency of such schools by inevitable poverty, and it does nothing to see that they are planted where they are wanted, and not elsewhere. According to the Bill, parents demanding a school of this character may have it if they live in a town, if they are lucky enough to find one in their neighbourhood, and if they are willing to put up with inferior equipment. A kind of school which many thousands of parents, supported by expert opinion, are known to desire is to be grudgingly tolerated and starved. That is not popular education as understood by Lord Crewe. But neither do the more public schools, contemplated by the Bill, conform to his standard; they are not designed to meet the religious beliefs and opinions of the people using them. On the contrary they are set to a pattern partly fixed by law, partly to be designed by the Local Education Authority. There is no flexibility, no adjustment. Those who use the schools are to have no voice in determining the religious character of the schools, except indirectly and ineffectively by their voting power as ratepayers. The father of a child at school will share the control of the school equally with his childless neighbour, and his share will be infinitesimal. Such as it is, it will be exercised under an absurd restriction. The Cowper-Temple Clause is nothing else but a restraint on popular control; it is merely negative; it forbids a thing which the popular voice may loudly demand. The parents of the

children attending a school may unanimously wish their children to learn the Church Catechism or the Roman Penny Catechism ; the Local Education Authority may unanimously wish to let them have their way ; but the unanimous desire of all concerned is barred by law. And this absurdity is continued, is extended, in the Bill of which we are told that one essential feature is popular control. This foolishness is gradually becoming recognized for what it is. Mr. Balfour, who in 1902 thought the Cowper-Temple Clause illogical but inevitable, and extended it to secondary schools, has now declared that it must be got out of the way. He said this, it is true, on the platform of the Parents' League ; it remains to be seen whether he will repeat it in his place in Parliament, or whether he will suffer once more from the lack of courage which he has confessed. Mr. Birrell, courageous here also, has imposed no such nonsense on the new Irish Universities and Colleges. It is of the essence of his successful settlement that nothing remotely resembling it should be attempted.

It appears that Mr. Asquith and his colleagues intend to press their Bill. They have learnt wisdom in Ireland, but they will not apply the lesson to England. Two disastrous failures—three if the defeat of their administrative attack on the Training Colleges be reckoned—are not sufficient. Pressing the present Bill, they press forward to another disaster. From the immediate incidence of defeat they can be saved in one way. It is the way of weak and timid compromise on the part of the defenders of religious education. But that will merely continue the trouble and bring discredit on the negotiators. There are men who seem to be never weary of compromising. For thirty-eight years compromise has dominated the field of popular education, and has produced the religious difficulty. An attempt to remove the difficulty by further compromise does not seem hopeful. For a change it might be well to try a little principle.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. By CARL CORNILL. Translated by G. H. BOX, M.A. 'Theological Translation Library,' Vol. XXIII. (Williams and Norgate, 1907.) 10s. 6d. net.

DR. CORNILL knows every inch of the critics' way. Usually we keep the main road; sometimes he takes us down a pleasant bye-path or by a short cut, but we never reach a *cul de sac*. Everything is pointed out. Here is the J range, there are the hills of E. Yonder is mount D over against the heights of P. The quarries which have revealed the various *strata* of the prophetic writings are noticed, and every now and then we see the bright stream of Hebrew religious thought as it flows onward across the centuries. From the Deborah Song to the Seventy-fourth Psalm, from Amos on to Esther, through a literature extending over more than a thousand years, onwards past versions and targums, square script and massora, Codex Petropolitanus and printed edition—the road takes us in sight of all.

No part of the work more clearly illustrates its completeness than the section on Metre. When some of us, years ago, began Hebrew we did not dream that ere long a drastic reconstruction of text or of vocalization would be undertaken for the discovery of metre where metre might be looked for. The problems are formidable, sometimes disturbing; Dr. Cornill (p. 15) alludes to metre as the 'burning question' in Old Testament science, and some twelve pages of the work are devoted to it. We seem to foresee the day when orthodoxy will be judged by one's attitude to the textual emendations of the Qinah theories! As yet, however, this keener struggle has scarcely begun.

Completeness, too, is the mark, as a rule, of the bibliographical sections. We are reminded that the Higher Criticism really starts with Hobbes' 'Leviathan,' and not with any German scribes. Modern British scholarship is well represented in the lists. One misses here and there perhaps the name of some important English handbook. For instance there is no commentary in England, and probably only one in Germany (Ryssel's), where the text of Micah is so fully dealt with as in J. Taylor's work. Lowe's manual on Zechariah might be named, and among books dealing with the history of the Old Testament

text we know of none so practically convenient for English students as T. H. Weir's. Other books occur to us, but of works published up to the date of the fifth edition of the *Einleitung* singularly few important ones are missing from the lists given.

Another feature of the guidance given by the Breslau Professor is the *confidence* with which it is offered. He is familiar with the road in lamplight as in sunlight; he knows his way without having to feel for it, and he usually speaks without hesitation. The fact as to the four main sources of the Pentateuch is 'not altered in the least by the apologetic compromises that are always making their appearance' (p. 41). 'It is certain that D is dependent upon the Book of the Covenant,' but 'to speak of his work as a literary fraud is out of the question; indeed D cannot even rightly be described as pseudepigraphic' (p. 64). The Song of the Bow is a 'genuine survival of David's poetic activity' (p. 203). 'In Ezra-Nehemiah we have every reason to recognise an essentially trustworthy recital' (p. 254). And, in summing up as to the origin of the Priestly Code: 'The natural and naturalistic are of two kinds; would it really be unworthy of God if the process could be shown to proceed naturally? And in conclusion is it not just the natural that is the greatest marvel?' (P. 116.) There is little 'bated breath and whispering humbleness' in Dr. Cornill's guidance.

Occasionally we could perhaps wish for a less confident assertion. Thus, in dealing with Canticles it is claimed that 'the riddle of the book . . . has been definitely solved' (p. 461). The solution referred to is the theory that this interesting scripture consists of separate songs and is not—as many have supposed—a poetic drama. Many will feel that there is undoubtedly much acute observation and accurate deduction in what Wetzstein and, notably, Budde, and other writers have written on this subject. And yet some will maintain that there is still a good deal to be urged in favour of the 'drama' interpretation. The latter view was put forward by Jacobi just about a century before Wetzstein's, and it has commended itself to such judges as Ewald, Renan, and Graetz—not to mention more recent critics of like eminence. We have indeed heard it suggested that both views may be right. Why should we not conclude that some poet has worked over such a collection of songs and made a drama out of them? At all events in view of the history of the interpretation of Canticles a somewhat less confident statement than Dr. Cornill's would be appropriate.

In other parts of the work we might look not for less confident assertion but for a fuller notice of conflicting opinions with regard to the question discussed. For instance the genuineness of Deborah's Song is taken for granted (p. 160). Few have disputed this, none very effectually. But disputed it has been by at least two considerable scholars—Seinecke and Vernes. The latter indeed goes so far as to call the song 'une œuvre éminemment artificielle.' One of the points in his indictment is the occurrence of the particle *shin* (as relative pronoun). This is often regarded in other writings as a mark of Aramaic influence or of later date. In discussing the date of Canticles Dr. Cornill deals with this particle, but does not once allude to it in connexion with Judges v. Doubtless the syntactical usage is different in the two writings; but the point is of sufficient importance to deserve mention. The theory of Vernes might well have been alluded to, even if only to point out its weakness; and *timbre* would have been added to the ringing praise so rightly bestowed on a poem described as 'powerful and unalloyed' and as obviously genuine (p. 160).

At the same time Dr. Cornill does not encourage us to make purposeless *détours* along the lanes of conjecture. With one of our great English guides all roads lead to the haunts of Jerahmeel. Under Dr. Cornill's leadership we never catch a glimpse of the sign-post directing the traveller thither only to find Jerahmeel a ghost-haunted forest clearing when he has reached it. We would not neglect any real argument on this or that question simply on the ground that it assumes the truth of the whole North Arabian hypothesis; but it is reassuring to find that a very up-to-date guide keeps to the main high road—and arrives at a real destination.

We have alluded to the section on Metre, and the author's view here is characteristic of his caution. He rejects the latest elaborate theory, that of Sievers, because a metrical system supposed to be illustrated alike by Job and by Jonah, by Ruth and the Stone of Dibon, 'is no metrical system at all—at least for the "untrained" metrical consciousness' (p. 25); and he is content with Ley's theory, 'although his system does yield "only conglomerations of numbered syllabic-masses of rhythmically indifferent form and constancy," because the facts prevent me from recognising anything more.' This caution is well seen in the section on Amos. Students of that very important prophetic book have noticed with something like dismay that a few recent critics, 'on the ground of metrical and strophical

considerations, have postulated for the book an original form according to which its traditional text can only be the result of a diorthotic process which must be described as almost unscrupulous' (p. 331). Dr. Cornill goes on to admit that 'everything is not so clear and simple in Amos as has hitherto been generally supposed,' but ends with the opinion: 'I still believe that we have to deal with a book composed by [Amos], which has survived with as little alteration as any prophetic book' (p. 332).

Again, in dealing with certain theories as to the Psalms we read: 'Thus all honest exegesis must recognise that there are Maccabean Psalms; but to proceed to derive the majority of the Psalms, or even the whole Psalter, from the Maccabean period is a grossly extravagant theory' (p. 408).

Mr. Box is singularly helpful as interpreter; the book scarcely ever reads like a translation. In the Hebrew words trifling blemishes are numerous. For instance, take p. 281: *showa* for *chireq* in line 4 and again in line 12, *daghash* omitted in line 5, and *shin* minus diacritic point in line 12. Errors of this sort occur on pp. 70, 73, 94, 95, 124, 127, 147, 152, 162, 191, 203, 211, 212, 230, 268, 327, 337, 342, 345, 357, 376, 449, 492, 493, 506, 508, 509. The Hebrew type is not well cut: *nun* is too often like *kaph* and *resh* like *shin*; the words are obvious enough, but an absolutely clear and symmetrical Hebrew type is a great advantage. Pages 121, 122 do not appear at all in our copy; the counting has skipped a leaf. The occasional transliteration is scientific and clear, like that of Jerem. xiii. 19, 23 (the reference might have been added) on p. 24. It is not apparent why the sign for *shin* is corrected in the Errata on p. xii (Mesha) when the supra-marked *s* is retained elsewhere (e.g. p. 437). The following should be added to the list of Errata: p. 140, l. 22 insert 'of' before 'JE'; p. 175, l. 28 insert 'that' before 'it'; p. 340, l. 9 for (Micah) 'ii.' read 'iii.'; p. 514, l. 26 'character. On p. 37 *moyée* should surely be *Moyse*, and on p. 127, l. 29, two of Abram's 318 servants are missing.

Sermons in Accents, or Studies in the Hebrew Text: a Book for Preachers and Students. By REV. JOHN ADAMS, B.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1906.) 4s. 6d. net.

Sermons in Syntax. By the same. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1908.) 4s. 6d. net.

THE sermonic hints and headings are often ingenious and suggestive, but they are the least important feature of these two

volumes, each of which we heartily commend to all Hebrew students as well as to any who seek in the *minutiae* of Old Testament exegesis a guide to sermon-making.

The *Sermons in Accents* is particularly useful as a clear and interesting explanation of a not very alluring subject, one on which very little has hitherto been written for the learner. It is perhaps the best introduction to a study of Wickes that has appeared, and it deserves success. In a subsequent edition, which we hope may be called for, the author will doubtless allude to Kittel's text, as he does in the later volume on the *Syntax*; and the following corrections should be made. Pp. 7 (last line) *h*; 57 (line 6) *hateph*; 115 (line 3) *gameš* under initial *Beth*; 144 (line 16) transpose vowels; 156 (line 9) for *Pual* read *Hophal*; 169 (lines 3, 15) *sere* under *Resh*. Some account of *Metheg* might suitably be added; it is mentioned only once or twice. Lastly on p. 51 a note would be useful on the *Daghesh Conjunctivum* in *šām*.

The *Syntax* is less useful to the student as such, since several admirable guides are available (in addition to those named in c. II. the author might well have mentioned Gesenius-Kautzsch, also Professor Kennett), but it is very fruitful in expository and homiletic suggestion. A few slight corrections are needed: Pp. 8 (line 22) 15 (line 5) *hatephs*; 137 (line 14) *daghesh* in *Beth*; 172 (line 18) omit *daghesh* from *Yodh*; further a *Piel* form is here an unsuitable illustration. *Hiphil* is clearer; 195 (line 23) 204 (line 3) *Samekh* appears as final *Mem*; 214 (line 4) the *waw* has dropped out; on p. 166 the *Piel* Perfect is a likely reading (cf. Kittel); and in the examples on p. 219 *sq.* may not the indication of *purpose* be a possible reason for the Imperfect with light *waw*, particularly after a command?

The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Research. By the REV. J. R. COHU, Rector of Aston Clinton, Bucks; sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1908.) 4s. net.

IF Bible study were general throughout our parishes, religion in England would experience a real uplift. Many clergy, however, are not in a position to read very widely, and they need guidance in the shape of a summary of the results of criticism. Works of this kind are by no means easy to write. The field to be covered is wide, and there is the danger of sketchy generalization and inexactness of statement. Mr. Cohu's book

is not entirely free from such defects ; but otherwise it indicates briskly and pleasantly the main results of modern research.

There are a few misprints, e.g. 'Jehovah' p. 104, 'writing' p. 187 ; and on p. 212 the phrase 'went far afield' is odd when the subject is 'ships.' On p. 295 (end) for 'our Lord's' read 'St. Paul's ;' and on p. 356 (line 15) 'and,' 'Hebrews' should be transposed. It is unfortunate that when the only words written in Hebrew occur on the dedication page, two out of the three should be incorrectly pointed.

The Religious Value of the Old Testament. By A. W. VERNON, Professor of Biblical Literature in Dartmouth College. With an Introduction by ARTHUR S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester. (London : George T. Brown, 1908.) 2s. net.

THE standpoint of this brief essay, which is dedicated to Francis Brown, 'Steadier and Enlarger of Human Lives,' is much the same as that of Mr. Cohu's book just noticed ; and the writer states the position with great ability and with considerable vivacity of expression. In dealing with 'old-fashioned' views Professor Vernon, who is probably far from old and is certainly not old-fashioned, may perhaps to some seem occasionally flippant : we would cordially endorse Dr. Peake's words in the Introduction : 'It is a duty incumbent upon us to deal tenderly with the faith . . . thus disturbed.' We should think that the book might prove helpful to a young university man destined for the ministry but uneasy as to the present results and the future trend of the scientific study of the Old Testament.

On p. 49 (l. 10) read 'new' for 'knew.'

The Sayings of Jesus. The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke. By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated by the REV. J. R. WILKINSON. 'Crown Theological Library.' (Williams and Norgate. 1908.) 6s.

THIS is one of the most notable of recent publications dealing with the Synoptic Problem. It has long been believed that the authors of the first and third Gospels made use of St. Mark's Gospel, and also of a second documentary source. In the present volume Dr. Harnack endeavours to reconstruct this source and to estimate its probable scope and characteristics.

He assigns to it seven so-called *narrative* sections (viz. the Temptation, the Centurion, John's Message, the two aspirants,

the Beelzebub controversy, the section about forgiveness, and the demand for a sign), eleven parables, thirteen collections of sayings, and twenty-nine other sayings. He thinks that the source had an order which can be partially re-discovered; that it contained only Galilean material; that it had no references to the Passion, and was therefore not a Gospel; that it had no discernible bias; that it belongs to the Apostolic period, and is more ancient than the second Gospel; and that there is a strong balance of probability that it was the work of St. Matthew. It is needless to say that anything written by Professor Harnack is the work of a master-hand, and for some of the conclusions here reached, as *e.g.* for the refusal to exclude St. Matthew xi. 25-27 from the Apostolic source, English readers will be very grateful. But they will, perhaps, feel that upon this, as upon some other recent German publications dealing with the same subject, the following criticisms may be made.

First, directly as to the method employed. Briefly stated, this is to assign to a documentary source the sections in St. Matthew and St. Luke which are common to those two Gospels only, and to explain divergences in order or language as due to editorial manipulation on the part of one or other of the Evangelists.

Now, it may be admitted that the large amount of verbal identity in sections common to the first and third Gospels only, implies a literary not an oral background. But it may reasonably be questioned whether the divergences between the two Gospels in these sections in order and in language does not exclude the solution that they drew immediately from a single common source. It seems, for example, almost incredible that the two writers should have had before them one and the same source for the Lord's Prayer and the Beatitude section at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount or Plain. What is wanted is not an immediate common source, but an ultimate common source; the only question being which of our two writers stands nearest to it. St. Luke, for example, may have drawn directly from the Apostolic source, whilst the editor of the first Gospel had before him much that was contained in it but mediated through other writings, or *vice versa*.

But, if this be true, it follows that the method which simply masses together what is common to Matthew and Luke, calls that a document, and proceeds to draw conclusions as to its probable scope and characteristics, is too narrow in scope. What

if St. Matthew represents the source most nearly, whilst St. Luke had material ultimately drawn from it but mediated through other writings? Then, of course, not only the sayings common to Matthew and Luke, but many of the sayings peculiar to Matthew may come from the source, and if these be taken into account they may fundamentally affect our estimate of the characteristics of the source.

Secondly, indirectly as to some conclusions drawn. It is common amongst critics who adopt the method of solving the Synoptic Problem just described to treat St. Mark and the supposed second source as of primary authority (and here they have good reason), but also, and as though it were a necessary consequence, to depreciate the value of sections peculiar to the first and third Gospels as for the most part consisting of legendary addition to the earliest Gospel tradition. If anything which St. Matthew records is not also found in St. Luke, that, it is argued, is evidence that it did not stand in the second source, and is relatively of little value compared with material which is vouched for both by St. Matthew and St. Luke. But why? Why should not most of the sayings peculiar to Matthew come from the Apostolic source? *Luke has not got them*, but he may have omitted them, or he may never have seen them because he drew not directly from the Apostolic source but from intermediate sources derived from it. But *they are marked by the peculiar characteristics of St. Matthew*. Yes, but these characteristics may have been a component, perhaps a predominant, element in the Apostolic source. The method of exhaustion which sets apart all that contains so-called peculiar characteristics of St. Matthew or of St. Luke as certainly not derived from the source seems to be a dangerous one. These characteristics may have been derived by one or both writers from the source itself, and if so any estimation of the source which totally disregards them will be a one-sided one.

But it is, perhaps, ungracious to criticize without exhaustive examination a work so fresh, so independent, and so masterly as the volume before us. It is a book for students rather than for those of whom Dr. Harnack speaks as 'compelled to take their knowledge of the criticism of the New Testament at second hand,' and who 'find everything in this connection which is offered to them *very worthy of consideration*.' The student will find in it much that should stimulate him to test the author's conclusions by further labour of the kind which has led up to them.

The Cities of St. Paul : their Influence on his Life and Thought.
By PROF. W. M. RAMSAY, K.T., HON. D.C.L. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1907.) 12s.

SIR W. M. RAMSAY'S latest work is one of the most thoughtful and interesting that he has ever written. In it he sums up and corrects when needful the views which he has expressed in various former books as to the influence of St. Paul's environment on his teaching. He shews us how St. Paul, while first and foremost a Jew, was a Jew not of Jerusalem but of Tarsus, a citizen of a Greek city and at the same time a Roman. Only a Jew who was also a Greek and a Roman could have become the Apostle of the Gentiles. As a member of a tribe in a Greek city-state and as a Roman citizen, he could open doors of sympathy and knowledge which would have been shut to a Jew of Jerusalem.

Appreciation of Greek literature and modes of thought, and knowledge of the Roman Governmental system, were the keys which this cultured and intelligent Tarsian used to unlock these doors that Christ might enter in. The Jew Saul could speak in the synagogue, but the Greek Paulos could attract the Gentiles to hear him, and the Roman Cn. Pompeius Paulus—this may well have been his full name—carried with him the prestige of the ruling race, though this did not save him from the staves of the lictors in the Roman colony of Pisidian Antioch. Sir W. Ramsay shews that St. Paul's attitude towards Rome was mixed: as a Roman he understood her virtue, and tried to enlist it on the side of the new religion; but at the same time he saw that her vice—the inherent vice of Emperor-worship—must in the end bring about a collision between two incompatible ideals. This, however, never brought him to denounce her with apocalyptic imagery, as it did the writer of Revelation. St. Paul respected Rome too much, and was a patriotic Roman as well as Jew.

Sir W. Ramsay describes Tarsus as it was in St. Paul's time in a lengthy and most interesting chapter, from which we can well understand the various influences that moulded the great Apostle's character. Tarsus, though Greek from the most ancient days of Mopsos and the earliest Ionian colonists, was yet the most Oriental of Greek cities. For, like Damascus, she was very old, much older than the foundation by Mopsos. She was Hittite, perhaps, before she was Greek. Mallos, the neighbouring port on the coast of the Aleian Plain, is mentioned in the

annals of the Egyptian Pharaoh Thothmes III., about 1470 B.C., and the land of Alashiya, often spoken of in the *Tell el-Amarna Letters*, probably counted Tarsus among its towns. Sir W. Ramsay considers that Tarsus, not Tartessus in Spain, is the Biblical Tharshish. A serious objection to this view is the final sibilant in the Hebrew name: the native name of Tarsus was Tarzi, and we think that he is wrong on this point; but it is a minor one, and does not affect his argument. After Tarsus was Greek it was Assyrian before it was Greek again. So that the Oriental spirit was always strong in this Greek state, and the fact no doubt explains St. Paul's firm attachment to his own people and to his own Jewish culture, which was never overborne in his mind by his Tarsian cosmopolitanism. Jews from towns further west in Asia Minor by no means remained always so definitely Jewish as did the Jews of Tarsus, despite their membership of a Greek polity and of a Greek university. The university of Tarsus must have exercised great influence upon the mind of a Jew like St. Paul, and it is pointed out that the Tarsian philosopher Athenodorus, the friend of Augustus, probably influenced his ideas not a little.

Next follows a description of the other 'cities of St. Paul' in Asia Minor; Antioch the Roman colony in Galatia; Iconium the ancient, not yet a colony in St. Paul's time, but Hellenized; Derbe, the Roman frontier-post; Lystra, a colony in name, but really a mere upland Pisidian village. The characteristics of each are sketched, and we are shewn how these affected the way in which St. Paul was received in each, and the extent to which they severally were disposed to hear him.

Sir W. Ramsay prefaces his work with an introduction in which he contrasts the 'Pauline method,' the Pauline philosophy of history with the modern idea of evolutionary development, to the disadvantage of the latter. He was, he tells us, himself brought up in the modern evolutionary views, according to which religion begins with the lowest ideas, with magic and sorcery, and only rises painfully to higher things as the savage gradually civilizes himself. St. Paul thought differently, and Professor Ramsay now is inclined to agree with St. Paul. However, these matters can only be decided by the observation and tabulation of *facts*, not by philosophical theorizing. Professor Ramsay appeals to facts, and the facts are with the evolutionists. He seems to see in the ancient and ordered culture of the Mediterranean lands in which St. Paul was born a culture with a religious sense which can never have been primitive and

savage. He seems to see in this old culture-world the true Eden-garden in which Man was created in God's image and walked with God from the first—(we say 'seems,' for the Professor's meaning is not quite clear). Yet we know from our archaeological knowledge that these nations of ancient culture were descended from savages like the rest of us ; underneath the splendid Minoan palaces of Knossos lie the flint weapons of the neolithic forebears or forerunners of the Minoans. In Greece and Egypt as in Britain or in Central Africa, we come back to the savage and his magic in the beginning. And is it not a grand and high conception, this of the gradual evolution of human religion as the method of God's revelation of Himself, leading from the lowest beginnings to the highest developments, from ' the fetish, the totem, and the sacred animals, and so up step by step to '—emphatically not ' Jehovah and the Ark of the Covenant,' which Sir William Ramsay quotes as the highest development, but—the faith of Christ and His Church ? This *is* the true line. (See p. 16.)

Inexplicably this valuable book has no Index !

St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Corinthians.

A new translation by the late W. G. RUTHERFORD, with prefatory note by SPENSER WILKINSON. (Macmillan and Co., 1908). 3s. 6d. net.

WE are grateful to Mr. Spenser Wilkinson for seeing this volume of translation through the Press, and for the prefatory sketch telling how acquaintance, begun at Oxford in the Volunteer corps, after an interval of many years became a lasting friendship. Of the late headmaster of Westminster's qualification for translating the Greek of the New Testament we need not speak, and those who have used his translation of the Epistle to the Romans will know the chief characteristics of the present volume. There is the same freedom, which at times becomes straightforward explanation, and is often of the nature of paraphrase, but which succeeds in giving directness and vigour to the text. The directness is occasionally increased by printing the parentheses of the text as footnotes. A characteristic translation which is printed at the foot of the page (74) runs thus : ' And for this reason also it is through Christ that the " Amen," the ascription through us of power to God, is conveyed to God.' (2 Cor. i. 20). Here the freedom of rendering is very marked, and it may equally well be noted by collecting the various renderings of such an expression as ' in Christ ' or any other prominent word. The

word 'prophecy' is avoided, and for noun and verb we get such renderings as 'spiritual sagacity,' 'to read the mind of God,' 'to expound the mind of God.' Clearly anyone using the work must resist the temptation to treat a translation as literally correct; but granted this, we are satisfied that the volume may be a real aid in the study of St. Paul's letters, and not least to those who depend mainly upon English versions.

St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians. The Greek Text, with Introduction and Notes. By G. MILLIGAN, D.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. (Macmillan and Co., 1908.) 12s.

THIS volume from the manse of Caputh, Perthshire, in which Dr. George Milligan the younger gives us his 'almost constant companion for a number of years,' is a worthy continuation of an honourable tradition of Biblical scholarship. It will be notable in years to come as one of the earliest commentaries of its kind, at any rate, in English, to be illustrated systematically from the stores of material opened up especially during the last fifteen years by the discoveries of papyri. How much such studies are likely to contribute to the due evaluation of words and phrases hitherto 'hard to be understood' it is difficult to say with certainty, for much work of sorting and arrangement remains to be done; but one may hold the truth of Luther's dictum 'non cuiusvis est Paulinum effingere pectus,' and yet rejoice at the final dissipation of the notion that New Testament writers used a jargon peculiar to themselves. St. Paul's Epistles, as Dr. Deissmann reminds us in his interesting *Bible Studies*, 'differ from the messages of the homely papyrus leaves from Egypt not as letters, but only as letters of Paul.'

The Epistles to the Thessalonians have a special interest not only as being probably 'the oldest Christian documents which have come down to us,' but as marking a definite stage in the development of St. Paul's thought and teaching, invested with the perennial attraction which attaches to eschatological speculations. Indeed, we confess to having read the edition before us almost with a feeling of disappointment, for after a careful study of it we can scarce recall a single picturesque touch in the whole volume, unless perhaps it be once and again in the quotations cited in the appendices on the 'Biblical Doctrine of Antichrist' or 'St. Paul as a Letter-Writer.' Dr. Milligan is cold, logical and precise. He tells us the views which have been held as to the date of the Epistles (which he himself places

in A.D. 50-51), and we find it more difficult than before to believe in the priority of Galatians. His notes on 'Language, style, and literary affinities' and 'Authenticity and integrity of the Epistles' are excellent, as also are the very numerous illustrations of grammatical and syntactical usages. But we have been assisting at Rembrandt's 'School of Anatomy' rather than entering into the spirit of a man of strong passion and intense conviction who is confronted with practical difficulties, some unforeseen and others regarded as overcome, and is struggling at the same time to formulate for himself as well as for his converts a system of doctrine based upon a theology the implications of which fifteen years or more have been all too short to enable him to realize. Yet taken as it is Dr. Milligan's book gives us much cause for gratitude. The notes are careful and accurate, with useful supplementary discussions from time to time, embodying a large amount of information not readily accessible elsewhere. The indices are admirable, and there are few students who will not have something to learn from the references to the latest works in many languages. Indeed, only once (p. xvi, LS) have we found any evidence in favour of the paradoxical note with which it opens, that the author has had to write 'far from a library.' If every vicarage and manse possessed one quarter of the books in Dr. Milligan's collection, or half of his ability to use them, British Biblical scholarship would have small cause to be ashamed when it speaks with the Teuton in the gate.

II.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire. Edited for the Quatercentenary of the University of Aberdeen by W. M. RAMSAY. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.) 20s. net.

SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY produced this fine volume, as a reminder of his twenty-five years' archaeological work in Asia Minor, to be presented to his University on the occasion of her fourth centenary. Probably it will be more appreciated in Oxford and London, Paris and Berlin, than at Aberdeen: as its editor rather bitterly says in his Preface, 'Real research in ancient literature for the enlargement of our knowledge of ancient life has not been much encouraged or approved by public opinion in Scotland. The researcher is supposed to be wasting time which he should employ in the teaching of elementary pupils. The very name of research is in popular use

degraded, and endowments for research are applied to aid pupils to complete their education by studying at foreign universities—an excellent thing, but not research. In France and Germany, but not in Britain, it is known that for research in ancient history there are needed not only brains and learning, but also money.' This last remark is as true of England as of Scotland, in spite of the civilizing influence of Oxford in these matters. Real research is in England thoroughly approved and encouraged in every way—except the very practical one of giving the necessary money.

Professor Ramsay has put together in this book a series of articles by himself and several of his pupils. All these articles deal with various pieces of actual work in the field except one—a reprint of a 'Rede Lecture' at Cambridge by the editor. This is an actual historical summary: the rest 'contain the materials out of which history is hereafter to be constructed.' These materials are chiefly epigraphic, but important conclusions as to artistic developments are also drawn from the sculptures which accompany many of the inscriptions commented upon. The study of tombstones is at present the only field for archaeological work in Asia Minor, where excavations have only just been begun. These, however, will come later; soon we shall have found all that there is to be found in Egypt, and then we shall turn to Asia Minor. Meanwhile, all honour to the pioneer! When the Egyptian boy gazes into the ink-pool to discern the future he sees first of all a man who comes with a broom, sweeping, to make all things ready. Sir William Ramsay has been such a forerunner as regards the archaeology of Asia Minor. His pupils have worked in the same way, as their papers in this volume shew. Miss Ramsay opens the book with an important article on the art of Asia Minor in the third and fourth centuries A.D. This article might have been written by the Professor himself, but for the fact that it is a little more dogmatic, a little more positive, than work from the experienced pen of the author's father would be. Professor Ramsay has already given a but slightly modified adhesion to the theories of Professor Strzygowski expressed in the latter's *Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*. With regard to matters of detail, he sometimes disagrees with his Polish colleague, as in the case of the date of the 'Bin-bir-Kilisse'; but the main theme of Professor Strzygowski's theory is accepted by him. Miss Ramsay shares her father's belief. But we are not sure that her conclusions as to the origin of the whole of later

Roman-Byzantine art in the tomb-sculptures of the inhabitants of an obscure valley in Asia Minor will necessarily command instant adhesion. This artistic development is surely more likely to have arisen in the great centres of culture, such as Antioch or Alexandria—probably the latter. Neither Sir William Ramsay nor Miss Ramsay makes any comparison between their Isaurian reliefs and the later styles of Coptic art. Professor Strzygowski does, but brings the Coptic style from Asia Minor. We really think the reverse course more probable; and when the development of the Coptic style from the older Romano-Egyptian has been fully worked out on the admirable lines of Professor Strzygowski himself in his volume on Coptic art in the General Catalogue of the Cairo Museum we are of opinion that this will become more apparent.

The actual inscriptions from Dorla (Nova Isaura) are of great interest. The collections of Phrygian names from them are curious. Miss Ramsay is, by the way, certainly in error in including *Δητριος* among native Phrygian names. It is simply a contracted writing for *Δημητριος*, and occurs in this very form in Egyptian inscriptions.¹ In the same way in Egypt *Διος* was often written for *Διονυσιος*. Professor Ramsay gives an interesting specimen of the Phrygian language from another place on p. 253: *ιος νι σεμονν κνουμανι κακουν αδδακετ, γεγρειμεναν εγεδουτιος ουταν*, which means 'whoever to this tomb harm shall do, he is liable to the prescribed penalty.' The general resemblance to Greek is evident, but other evidence points to a decided Slavic relation, which is even more noticeable in the allied tongue of the Thracians across the Hellespont—e.g. Phryg. *ζεμελω*=*καταχθόνιος* and the Thracian god *Ζαμολέις* (Hdt. iv. 94, 95), cf. Slavic *zemlya*, 'earth'; Russ. *земля*; Phryg. *Βαγαιος*=Zeus, cf. Slav *bogŭ*, 'god,' Russ. *богъ*; Phryg. *βαλῆν*, Thrac. *βάλιν*, 'king'; cf. Russian *баринъ*, *bárin*, 'master,' and so forth. Professor Ramsay has discovered, by the way, that the Phrygian word for 'bread' was *βεκος*, as Herodotus said it was in his story of the experiment of Psammetichos with the children.

But the main interest of the Isaurian inscriptions and of many of the others collected in this volume is their connexion with the early history of Christianity. Undoubted Christian inscriptions of the third century are of the highest importance,

¹ Cf. Hall *Coptic and Greek Inscriptions of the Christian Period in the British Museum*, p. 119.

and there are many from Asia Minor. From them we see, as Professor Ramsay points out, the Christians gradually growing in number, but living peaceably side by side with their pagan neighbours till the cry of disloyalty to the Imperial idea was raised, and the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian took place. Very possibly the Christians did not always strictly carry out the express injunctions of their Founder to 'render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's' in other things than the impossible recognition of his divinity; and there is no doubt that the ideas of Christians could hardly be regarded by a patriotic Roman as other than particularist and calculated to bring about the disruption of the Empire. So that we can hardly wonder that the arm of the law was finally invoked to enforce compliance with what was considered the plain duty of every Roman with no more hesitation than when not long ago we invoked the arm of the law to enforce compulsory vaccination.

Sir W. Ramsay has discovered monuments of the time of persecution, which are of capital importance, in the inscriptions of the *Ξένοι Τεκμορείοι*, the Brotherhood of 'Tekmoreian Guest-Friends,' an anti-Christian society which arose towards the end of the third century on the Imperial estates at Pisidian Antioch. The word *τεκμορείος* he supposed from the first to be derived from the old Epic word *τέκμων*, 'sign,' and to refer to some 'Masonic' sign by which the 'guest-friends' recognized one another or symbolized their allegiance to the Imperial idea. This explanation was rejected by some German scholars on the ground that so old a word could hardly have survived in the third century; and they preferred to regard it as an ethnic appellation. At first sight *Τεκμορείοι* does look like a name of Galatian origin; but Professor Ramsay's original suggestion has been entirely confirmed by his later discoveries of further inscriptions of the brotherhood, in which *οἱ τεκμορεύσαντες*, 'those who have given the sign,' are mentioned. The artificial resuscitation of the word *τέκμων* would be quite characteristic of late Phrygian Greek, and compounds of it were easily formed. The inscriptions record the payment of the Tekmoreioi for the purposes of the society, which appears to have been an association of pagans opposed to the growing religion of the Christians. And Professor Ramsay shews how natural it was that such a society should have grown up on the Imperial domains, where the worship of the Emperors would always be more religiously kept up than elsewhere. Further, he traces the actual form of the society and its officials

from the ancient constitution of the estates and serfs of the Anatolian gods, which became the property of the Roman Emperors.

The period of persecution naturally reacted evilly on both persecutors and persecuted. The old open profession of Christianity could not for a time be maintained : sometimes only a little cross in an inconspicuous position marks the grave of a Christian. Before, all manner of symbols of the new religion, the swastika and the fish even more than the cross, had been placed openly on Christian gravestones. No doubt persecution deepened the life of Christians and strengthened it ; but Professor Ramsay points out that at the same time it hardened it unduly, and made it less civilized and more ignorant. Persecution had naturally brought forth the evil fruit of ignorant fanaticism among the persecuted. And to this he attributes what he calls the 'paganization' of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, when ignorance admitted Cybele, the 'Mêtêr Dindymênê,' to a share of the Godhead in the guise of the Theotokos, and pagan ceremonies were grafted on to the simple worship of 'the primitive Church.' Professor Ramsay is here treading on delicate ground, and his words, while perhaps reading natural enough to a Presbyterian, will jar upon the susceptibilities of English Churchmen, who are not inclined to go behind the accepted customs of the later Church in the search for a semi-hypothetical primitive worship of which we have no accurate knowledge. But, granted the fact of an approximation to pagan ceremonial ('paganization' is far too wholesale a word), are we really to follow Professor Ramsay in regarding this as a result of the 'hardness' and ignorance produced by persecution? May it not rather be regarded as an instance of wise compromise and concession in respect of unessential externals, which in this case speedily resulted in the triumph of the Crucified and made it possible for an Emperor to conquer with a new sign, to which the faithful servants of his predecessors in Pisidia had so long and zealously opposed their own—to conquer with the τέκμων of the Cross? It may be that this is a characteristically English view, as Sir William Ramsay's is characteristically Scottish.

The sketch of the later history of Asia Minor during the long war for its possession between the Cross and the Crescent was the Rede Lecture for 1906, and is very suggestive and full of interest. It suffers doubtless from necessary compression, and its generalizations are therefore sometimes too wide. We think that criticism of the account of the reasons for the efficacious

use of the Janissaries by the Osmanli Turks is possible. Professor Ramsay makes too much, in our opinion, of degenerate Byzantine Christianity falling only before the swords of its own children, since the Janissaries were the tribute of Christian families. In reality this was not a case of the house divided against itself, of Christians in alliance with Moslems fighting Christians, for the simple reason that the Janissaries were as good Moslems as any other Turks, having been brought up in the faith of Islâm from their earliest childhood. What the use of the Moslem Janissaries by the Moslem Turks has to do with the warring of Christian sects is not clear; yet from the Janissaries he passes to the reflection: 'Christianity can conquer only by union against the floods of barbarism which are always and everywhere threatening to engulf and drown out civilization in the world, and union is never possible unless the sects of Christians, each falsely (*sic*) claiming to be the right and true Christianity, learn to respect each other's opinions.'

Sir William Ramsay evidently has his own opinion of what 'the right and true Christianity' is; but if his references to religious matters are a little unhappy, not less so is his jibe at modern politics when, *à propos* of the Janissaries, he writes: 'The nations of civilized Europe, who are now accustomed to estimate the civilization and the importance of every nation, not according to its education or its literature, or its art, or the excellence and usefulness of its municipal and imperial government, but by its provision of a highly trained machinery able to kill the largest number of men at the longest distance in the shortest possible space of time, cannot reasonably refuse their applause and admiration to this detestable invention of an Osmanli chief.' But surely nobody considers Germany to be more civilized than France or Italy, for instance, or more important than the United States, which has no army to speak of and a navy without reserves?

When Sir William Ramsay speculates, however, as to the possibility of Greeks and Turks eventually combining to form one great nation of traders and soldiers, he commands our attention: perhaps things will eventually work out in this way. Who can say how religious differences may not be modified in the next few centuries?

Considerations of space prevent us from devoting more detailed attention to the work of Professor Ramsay's collaborators, chief of whom is Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, than has already implicitly been given to them in considering the editor's own

main arguments, which they reinforce. The only exception is Mr. W. M. Calder, who, in an article on *Smyrna as described by the Orator Aelius Aristides*, gives a scholarly description of ancient Smyrna, devoting special attention to the true identification of the famous little river Meles.

Rather pedantically, but by no means unpleasingly, the volume commences with a poetical 'Proödos' and ends with an 'Epodos,' of which the best verses are an admirable address of Alexander the Great to the shade of Cyrus the Younger by Mr. John Fraser.

Innocent the Great. An Essay on his Life and Times. By C. H. C. PIRIE-GORDON, B.A. (Longmans, 1907.) 9s. net.

WHEN an author selects a subject and an epoch of the greatest interest, and announces that through the courtesy of Cardinal Merry del Val and others he has been allowed to consult MSS. of prime importance in the Vatican, and that he has further been favoured by the advice of such experts as Professor Tout and Dr. R. L. Poole; and when, besides such special advantages he gives a list of thirty-seven printed authorities in five different languages as being only *the chief works* he has found useful, the reader is justified in lofty expectations from work so signally honoured and so exhaustively studied. We may say at once that anyone who opens Mr. Pirie-Gordon's essay with any such high hopes as the preface inspires will be profoundly disappointed. His volume contains besides the text four maps, eight genealogical tables, lists of the Principal Contemporary Princes and Prelates of the College of Cardinals at the Election and the Death of Innocent, and of the Creatures of (*i.e.* the Cardinals created by) Pope Innocent. These Additamenta are by far the most valuable part of the volume. The essay itself, elaborated with the aid of a Cardinal Secretary of State and other learned helpers, does not contain anything beyond what the most cursory acquaintance with the period would supply, and the appreciation of the great Pope, the foremost man in Europe of his day, the typical representative of the Papacy at the zenith of its pretensions and its power, is ludicrously feeble and inept. Mr. Pirie-Gordon's style is detestable, being at once pretentious, affected, and slangy. He cannot express himself with simplicity, and besides using many obsolete and awkward words, he coins others that are singularly uncouth. We know of no authority for 'diplarchy' (p. 6), 'pseudopaparch' (p. 9), 'unconclavial' (p. 18), 'sancti-spiritual,' 'pretensed' (p. 39),

'tolutiloquent' (p. 61), 'banausically' (p. 64), 'samsonized' (p. 164), 'fervence' (p. 200). Amongst other flowers of speech we read that the conclave of 1198 was immured *at* the monastery of Septa Solis Clivisauri (p. 18). that Otto 'having *the Imperial crown safely in his mouth*, dropped it' (p. 52), and small wonder; that the Fourth Crusade was 'an essentially artificial movement *germinated under the exotic emotionalism* of Foulques de Neuilly's *fervorini*' (p. 66); that the election of a Greek emperor did not at all *suit the book* of one of the court officials' (p. 68); that 'the Templars had bitten off more land in the Morea and Romania than they could chew' (p. 77); that the 'Lord Innocent's predecessors had had to cope with the indignatiunculae of mulierose kings' (p. 102); that 'cities like Bergamo, Treviso and Alessandria were as contagious ringworms on the body of Italian politics' (p. 154). But a truce to these 'elegant extracts,' which could be supplemented by others equally appropriate and refined. *Le style c'est l'homme*. A man can only put into his work what is in himself. But lest it should be thought that such brief quotations as we have given hardly do Mr. Pirie-Gordon justice, we will conclude with an entire paragraph which will probably justify our estimate of this essay and more than satisfy our readers.

'One is tempted to wonder whether Innocent would have been hampered, or assisted, if He had had at His disposal modern methods of communication. It is by no means impossible that the Lord Innocent, armed with telephones and wireless telegraphy, would have staggered humanity into the very wildest hysterical phrenzy by the frequency of His blunt unmincing admonitions, and the passionate attention which He would have demanded to the never-ceasing torrent of instructions, exhortations, congratulations, directions, and damnations, surging in an immeasurable flood out of Lateran over Europe and the known world. But no doubt, under such conditions, He would have perished of "something of the nature of an aneurism" in the very first year of His pontificate' (pp. 177-8). A protracted dose of the same literature would probably bring the reader to a like untimely end.

The Bells of England. By J. J. RAVEN, D.D., F.S.A., 'The Antiquary's Books.' (Methuen, 1906.) 7s. 6d. net.

THE pursuit of campanology, which originally meant the science of change-ringing, but for the last half-century or so has included the archaeology of bells, has exercised a remarkable fascination

on many minds. Some leading names in this connexion are given on p. 328 of the work under notice, in which the late Dr. Raven's modesty prevented the inclusion of his own. Among the 'innumerable workers' there referred to were some who, once enthusiastic, have long ago had their attention diverted to other matters, among these the unknown discoverer of some of the most interesting things in the book, namely, the inscriptions at South Somercotes and Somerby, and the oldest known belfry rimes, those at Scotter, which he communicated to Mr. North. By the way, on p. 134 there seems to be some confusion between Somerby, near Brigg, where the fine bell inscriptions are, and Somersby, near Horncastle, the birthplace of Tennyson, where, according to Mr. North's book, there are two mediaeval bells, not, so far as appears, with the same lettering as those at South Somercotes and Somerby. Dr. Raven was among the earliest workers in bell-lore: he wrote a volume on the *Church Bells of Cambridgeshire*, 1869 (2nd ed. 1881), on those of Norfolk in Mason's *History of Norfolk*, 1884 (following Mr. L'Estrange's volume of 1874), and on those of Suffolk, 1890, besides other works not on bells. He had a thorough knowledge of the general subject, and the volume before us is one which we can heartily recommend to all who are interested, or desire to be interested and informed, in the matters which it includes, which are mainly archaeological.

It would have been outside the scope of an antiquary's book to discuss campanology in the sense of bell-ringing, but there is an interesting chapter on the history of change-ringing and its earlier literature. At p. 238 is given the charming music of *The Five-Bell Consorte*, by John Jenkins (born 1592), but we almost wonder that Dr. Raven makes no reference to the unique and beautiful composition given in musical notation on the fourth bell of St. Mary's, Oxford, 1612. Mr. Lukis printed a specimen of it in 1857, and it has since been published entire three times. It is the only instance, so far as we know, of musical notes in a bell inscription, and is one of the greatest curiosities in the whole range of campanology. Among minor matters requiring correction or explanation we may mention 'amalgam,' p. 3, which should be 'alloy,' as rightly on p. 4. Does it follow that because Will. de Touthorp, pp. 71, 185, is styled 'Fr.' that he was a 'friar'? We should have thought it more likely that he was a brother of the Benedictine house of St. Mary, York. It is St. Antony of Egypt, not 'St. Antony of Padua' (pp. 83, 128),

who is associated with bells and pigs. *Petra cepi*, p. 89, is 'a stone of fat' (*sebum*). 'Ancient lathers,' p. 113, has long puzzled us all. Can it refer to violent perspirations, to be maintained, as of old, by all bell-ringers who would 'purchase honour's gain'? See the *New English Dictionary*. 'Oon food,' p. 173, is 'one fooder or fother,' the curl of abbreviation having been overlooked. 'St. Leigh's,' in Essex, p. 277 n., is Mr. North's mistake for 'Gt. (Great) Leighs,' and *Swaslika*, on the same page, should be *Swastika*. There are three Ridings (Trithings) in Yorkshire, p. 328; the Rev. W. Consitt Boulter gave the bell inscriptions of the East Riding in the earlier volumes of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, as did Mr. J. Eyre Poppleton those of the West Riding in later volumes. These remarks are offered in no carping spirit: we all want to be right. May we offer a suggestion on 'Omas,' p. 103, another of our perennial puzzles? Can the desperate rimer have been driven thus to express 'O man!' to fill up his verse and rime with 'Thomas'? We are not convinced about 'Dulcis Sisto Melis,' p. 113. It is much easier to call attention to these little details than it is fully to point out the merits of Dr. Raven's book as a whole, or of the different chapters, which, as it were, 'go without saying.'

The Church Plate of the Diocese of Bangor. By E. ALFRED JONES. (Bemrose, 1906.) 21s. net.

The Old Church Plate of the Isle of Man. By the same. (Bemrose, 1907.) 10s. 6d.

CHURCH plate has for some years been receiving a good deal of attention, which in too many cases has been bestowed too late, much plate of great interest having been sent to the melting-pot (to be remade) by custodians who were neither aware of its value as it was nor in any way moved by its venerable associations. We should hardly have expected a very rich harvest in the diocese of Bangor or in the Isle of Man, but the plate still preserved in these localities appears to be of quite average interest, and Mr. Jones, who has worked so long and written so much on Church plate, is fully competent to describe it. In each of these volumes is a General Introduction, necessarily covering much the same ground in the two. Then all the plate in each parish is described under the different counties, parish by parish, with a liberal allowance of photogravures, done as beautifully as possible and representing all the most

interesting examples. Among these we find all types represented—the mediaeval chalices and patens that have survived, the Elizabethan cups with a patterned band round them so well known everywhere, as well as later types. Also mazers, tazzas, and other vessels, originally secular, which have been devoted to Eucharistic purposes. Besides these, flagons, alms-dishes, pewter vessels, etc., come under notice. All who are interested in Church plate should certainly possess these handsome volumes, in which both the text and the illustrations are all that can be desired. We may mention that in both introductions the development or evolution of the chalice and paten in their later forms is well traced out.

English Church Furniture. By J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A., and A. HARVEY, M.B. 'The Antiquary's Books.' (Methuen, 1907.) 7s. 6d. net.

'IN this book an endeavour has been made to gather together some accounts of the more remarkable examples of old church furniture which are now extant in the parish churches of England, with lists of all chancel screens, and of the best instances of old altar slabs, altar plate, fonts, pulpits, lecterns, piscinas, holy-water stoups, stalls, benches, embroideries, chained books, and other details . . . down to the end of the seventeenth century.' With these words the editors set forth their intentions in their preface, and most admirably have they carried them out. Indeed the word 'parish' might have been omitted, for they include many examples from cathedral and collegiate churches. Some matters, such as painted glass, etc., which belong rather to the fabrics themselves than to their furniture, have been reserved for a future volume, and such a volume will be most valuable if equally well done. In the volume under notice almost every conceivable object in the nature of church furniture comes under review, save that, strange to say, we find no mention of organs but what is quite incidental in connexion with rood-lofts (p. 97). The volume, however, taken as a whole, is a perfect mine of accurate and well-arranged information, and it is much to be wished that it will soon come into the possession of many of our clergy and of lay folk interested in all that is connected with our churches. A knowledge of its contents should surely put some check upon the grievous destruction wrought, even in recent times, among ancient church fittings. We know an ancient wooden rood which has been used

for a fire poker, and marginal inscriptions of brasses put to the same purpose, or made into masons' or carpenters' squares. Such things would never happen if there were a more general and intelligent interest in 'the things that remain.'

We cannot dwell on particular subjects, but the chapter on screens and rood-lofts strikes us as remarkably good and instructive. The editors distinguish between the low screens in the most ancient churches of Italy and the 'mystery type' of screen which prevails in all the Eastern churches, and they think that the small chancel arches in our Saxon churches were closed by a curtain or veil during the celebration, and were thus of the 'mystery type'; moreover, that the mediaeval Lenten veil was a survival of the earlier sanctuary veil. As the 'mystery' idea of secluding the altar gave way before the more open view of the Western Church, the Saxon sanctuary veil would go out of use, and a better view of the altar be obtained, first by triple chancel arches, still to be noted in a few churches, and later, as now, by a single large chancel arch, in which, at first, were placed screens of stone tracery which did not conceal the altar; of these there are two fine examples at Stebbing and at Great Bardfield in Essex. A great many disappeared in favour of wooden successors during the fifteenth century, when fine timber screens supporting wide rood-lofts came into fashion, and, with them, the 'Rood, Mary and John,' which, in other ways, had appeared in churches long before. In many cases the arch above the screen was filled up with a solid background of boards or lath and plaster, against which the rood was seen instead of against the light from the East window, and with very questionable effect, by no means worthy of being revived, one would think, however well decorated. Some of these 'screen-tympana' have survived to our own time, adorned with Moses and Aaron, Time and Death, or the Royal Arms; but it has usually been thought to be a first duty of a 'restorer' to sweep them away. In cathedral and collegiate churches, and in some others, the screen was of the solid form familiar to us at York, Ripon, Southwell, etc., as 'the organ screen.' To screens of this form the term *pulpitum* was applied, a term soon transferred to a separate structure used for preaching, the later 'pulpit.' They are sometimes called *jubes*, from the sentence *Jube domine benedicere*, 'as benedictions were sometimes pronounced from this elevation.' But the particular benediction referred to is that which was requested of the priest by the deacon before reading the Gospel. The deacon said *Jube domine benedicere*

and the priest responded, *Dominus sit in corde tuo et in ore tuo*, etc., and as this took place *in pulpito* in great churches on Sundays and the greater festivals, the term *jube* came to be applied to the *pulpitum*. Sometimes the rood-screen carried a gallery breast high, and a few of these remain. In Devonshire, where they are particularly fine, the screens run right across the aisles as well as the nave, the chancels in these cases having side aisles. Screens continued to be constructed in post-reformation times, the finest examples of these being in the county of Durham, where they probably arose out of the ritual movement headed by Bishop Cosin when a prebendary of Durham before his exile.

Some idea of the kind of information to be gleaned from the chapter on screens may be formed from what is here given. One great feature in the book is the scheduling of existing examples of church furniture under the names of the different places. In these schedules, as well as in the rest of the book, some omissions were bound to be made, and it is impossible to reach finality in such things. A few examples which we have noticed, and which might be thought worthy of insertion in a future edition, are these:—The nine ‘retables’ or altar shelves in the chapel of the Nine Altars in Durham Cathedral, the stone pulpit in Ripon Minster, the font at Belton near Grantham with figures in vestments (including the bell-ringer), the font at Everingham in Yorkshire, with very rude but remarkable sculpture, the Bishop’s stone chair in the Chapter house at Durham, the fine bench ends in Durham Castle Chapel, the very curious carvings on those at Trull in Somerset, the inscription on which is given on p. 278 (1560), these represent priest, deacon, sub-deacon, etc., in vestments, but exhibiting a great deal of ‘leg,’ recalling the ‘surplice and legs’ too familiar three hundred years later, a curious stone almsbox in the Galilee at Durham, silver collecting-basins at St. Oswald’s, Durham, supposed to have been bleeding basins (Dr. Dykes in his happier days playfully remarked that they still were), Bishop Flambard’s crosier at Durham, the Womersley crucifix: these are all very noteworthy objects.

Some prevalent errors are corrected, as that altar rails were introduced by Laud, that the Epistle and Gospel were read from the rood-screen in ordinary parish churches, the clergy getting up and down the very narrow stairs in their vestments, etc. The ‘Gospel desks’ (so-called), p. 314, were perhaps simply for laying the mass-book on when it was not upon the

altar; we can hardly imagine the deacon reading the Gospel with his face close to the wall. We may note that there is what appears to be a mutilated example of one of these desks at Wycliffe-on-Tees, in Yorkshire. In another edition places should be distinguished when there are two or more of the same name; we are left in doubt which of the two Kirtons and which of the two Beltons, all in Lincolnshire, is referred to; and, again, which of the two fine adjacent churches at Barton-on-Humber is meant. We note very few misprints, except in names of places. On p. 7, near the end, we should read *hoc*. The well-known Greek palindrome (p. 177) sometimes has ANOMHMATA. We ought to read Gordano, p. 23, Premonstratensian, p. 60, Ditchling, p. 70, Ashby-cum-Fenby and Ropsley, p. 123, Corhampton, p. 134, Catterick, pp. 142, 179, 230 *bis*, Wigtoft, p. 239, Kirk Leatham, p. 297, Flanders, p. 299, and there may be other place names that want correcting. But such slips as these readily correct themselves, and in no appreciable degree affect the great merits of the volume, which is certainly a most valuable contribution to our English ecclesiology.

The Church Handbook, for Members of the Anglican Communion.

By P. V. SMITH, LL.D., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester. (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1907.) 2s. 6d.

THIS is an excellent little book. It is a duodecimo of 178 pages and costs half a crown; but it represents an amount of knowledge, thought, and care out of all proportion to its bulk and price. Dr. Smith describes in his preface the object which he has had in view—namely, to supply in a small compass information on the origin and development of the Church, its past and present constitution, government, laws, and distinctive features. The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the Church of England itself, and the second with the other Churches of the Anglican Communion. The first part contains a sketch of the history of the Church from the beginning, with a summary view of the relations of Church and State, and of the principal characteristics which distinguish the Church of England from other parts of the Catholic Church. Then follow chapters describing the territorial divisions of the Church's organization, the officers of the Church, its property and revenues; there is a chapter on law and another on education; and the part concludes with a chapter on modern representative assemblies, such as diocesan conferences and parochial councils, by which endeavours have been made to meet the difficulties caused by the fact that

Parliament and vestries no longer truly represent the laity of the Church. This summary will have shewn sufficiently both the difficulty and the utility of the task which Dr. Smith has undertaken, but nothing but a perusal of the book can make clear the success with which it has been performed, and in particular the scrupulous impartiality which has been preserved in the treatment of a subject of which almost every detail is matter of controversy. The care with which the mass of information compressed into these chapters has been arranged and the lucidity with which it is conveyed deserve the sincerest praise. The only actual mistake which we have noticed (and it is a very small one) is on p. 84. The number of clerical assessors on a trial under the Clergy Discipline Act 1892 is *three*, not two.

It is scarcely fair to pick holes in an historical summary necessarily so condensed as that here given; but we think that perhaps a line or two might have been spared to qualify the impression (p. 13) that the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire were in full practical operation during the whole time of their continuance on the Statute Book. The statement on p. 29 that no change in the law of the Church can be made without the sanction of Parliament invites criticism. No doubt very much of our Church law depends either directly or indirectly on parliamentary enactment, and to that extent cannot be modified without the like sanction; but we are certainly not prepared to admit that there is no Church law which the Convocations cannot alter by canon with the royal licence and assent. To take a trifling instance, we apprehend that the canon which directs that the Commandments be set up at the east end of churches might be abrogated or modified without an Act of Parliament. Dr. Smith's statement, if taken literally, appears to be inconsistent even with that restricted authority which the law concedes to the canons of 1604. We are curious to know what is the authority for the statement (p. 31 n. 1) that in the appointment of the Primate 'the sovereign may exercise the right of personal selection,' whereas other bishops are appointed on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. Dr. Smith seems to imply (p. 95) that Protestant dissenters were formerly excluded from Parliament. We know of no ground for this. There is a small misprint on p. 101, line 6.

Part II. deals *seriatim* with the Churches outside England which are in communion with the Church of England, and presents clearly and concisely a great deal of valuable and interesting information with regard to them. The last chapter

of the book gives an account of the origin and growth of the 'Lambeth Conferences.' We think that in another edition Dr. Smith might with advantage give a list of the principal books to be consulted for fuller information on the matters of which he treats. Something of the kind he has done in his preface, and it is useful so far as it goes; but we submit to him that the four volumes of Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, of which the last edition is that published by Sir Robert Phillimore in 1842, would be unsafe as well as cumbrous to an uninstructed seeker. For ordinary reference Dale's *Clergyman's Legal Handbook* is much better, while for deeper study Phillimore's reconstruction of Burn, clumsy and ill-arranged as it is, is essential.

III.—LITURGIOLOGY AND MUSIC.

The Parson's Handbook. By PERCY DEARMER, M.A. Sixth Edition, revised. (Henry Frowde, 1907.) 6s. net.

The Prayer-book in the Making. By F. H. WESTON, M.A., Vicar of Lastingham. (Murray, 1907.) 5s. net.

Sound Words. By G. E. JELF, D.D., Master of the Charterhouse. (S.P.C.K., 1907.) 3s. 6d.

FOR the second time since its first appearance in 1899, the *Parson's Handbook* has been revised and enlarged. In its original form it aimed at providing notes and suggestions only: now it provides complete directions for all the services in a parish church, and also contains an immense amount of accurate and well-arranged information about public worship and its accessories. In the original edition there were 223 pages; in this latest edition there are 362, with thirty-one illustrations. It is therefore really a new book, and the fact that Mr. Dearmer has been assisted by the foremost liturgical experts of the present day—by Dr. Wickham Legg, Mr. Cuthbert Atchley, Mr. Brightman, Mr. Frere, and others, is sufficient to shew that he speaks with authority. Perhaps, indeed, some readers may think that he speaks with too much authority, and that he is somewhat over positive about points with regard to which there may be legitimate differences of opinion. Mr. Dearmer certainly does not hesitate to express his own opinions, and it is never possible to mistake his meaning; but he distinguishes carefully between facts and opinions, and he provides the fullest apparatus for the verification of facts. The copious references given in the notes will be invaluable to the student, while the reader who is content with the text can at least see at a glance the nature of the authority

upon which statements are made. It is hardly necessary to say that no subject of which Mr. Dearmer treats can remain dull, and this book contains quite enough of his humour to enliven a far drier theme.

The constant refrain of Mr. Dearmer's work is loyalty to the Book of Common Prayer. Not that he regards the book with the indiscriminating admiration of the old-fashioned Churchmen who talked about our 'incomparable liturgy' while they neglected some of its most important regulations. But he insists that our duty at the present time is to take the book as it is, and to obey it in small matters as in great. Perhaps even yet there are comparatively few Churchmen who realize how widespread is the lawlessness to which Mr. Dearmer attributes many of the evils from which we suffer. The neglect of the regulations of the Church with regard to Baptism, Catechizing, and Confession is, he holds, responsible for the mass of baptized heathenism with which we are confronted, while at the same time the scandalous omission of daily divine service and the non-observance of festival and fast have impoverished the devotional life of clergy and laity alike. In matters of less intrinsic importance the slovenliness of the Georgian period has left traditions of lawlessness which pervade all the services of the Church, and the well-intended efforts that have been made during the last fifty years to raise the standard of decency have too often been based upon insufficient knowledge. And so mere absurdities have established themselves side by side with such grave breaches of Church law and decency as the exodus of the bulk of the congregation in the middle of the service of the Holy Communion. But out of many instances of the same kind mentioned in Mr. Dearmer's book there are few that can equal the astounding example of episcopal lawlessness detailed on page 356, and it is to be feared that it is not an isolated instance.

Mr. Dearmer makes war upon vulgarity as well as upon lawlessness. It is vulgarity, he says, that has caused the alienation from the Church of the influential classes which earn their living by writing and the arts, and this, he considers, is one of the most startling facts that we have to face. The artist and the educated man find the horrors of the Church furnisher as difficult to endure as the sermons of the clergy. The remedy Mr. Dearmer proposes is again the recognition of authority—that of the Book of Common Prayer with regard to the ornaments which are to be used; that of the artist when he tells us about art.

The Prayer-book in the Making is a work of a very different

kind. It is addressed to the average layman, and endeavours to strike a mean between works suitable for scholars and mere text-books. It is a praiseworthy thing to try to interest unlearned Church-people in the history of the services in which they take part, and it is an ungrateful task to criticize any honest attempt to do this. But it is impossible not to regret that Mr. Weston had not equipped himself better for the task. It is not necessary to be a specialist in order to write a useful book of this kind; but it is well to know something about the result of the work of specialists. There is an ominous parenthetical remark on Mr. Weston's second page to the effect that the Speaker's Commentary is 'one of our greatest authorities on Bible matters.' He says very little about his liturgical authorities, but they seem to be about as much 'up to date' as the Speaker's Commentary. He mentions 'Canon Evan Daniel's excellent book,' and extracts from it a very misleading table of liturgies. He also quotes from 'Procter's' history, but apparently he is not acquainted with Mr. Frere's revision, for if he had read it it would have saved him from many blunders. But in spite of this the tone and intention of the book are good, and the plain man to whom it is addressed will get much good from reading it, while the blunders will perhaps do him no great harm.

Sound Words is a volume of addresses on the Book of Common Prayer by the Master of the Charterhouse. Their object is not to impart information but to promote a devout use of the services. It is hardly necessary to say that they are inspired by a very deep and earnest piety.

Elevation in the Eucharist : Its History and Rationale. By T. W. DRURY, D.D., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Liverpool [now Bishop of Sodor and Man]. (Cambridge : at the University Press, 1907.) 3s. 6d. net.

IN this work the present Bishop of Sodor and Man has made a careful collection of the evidence bearing on the subject of Elevation in the Eucharist. He examines the Eastern and Western Liturgies and historical and theological statements; distinguishes the distinct elevations of 'the gifts of the people at the Offertory,' 'the bread and wine at the words *Qui pridie* and *Simili modo*,' 'the bread and wine immediately after the consecration of each element,' 'the bread and wine together at the close of the Western Canon,' 'the consecrated bread before the Communion of the people in Eastern Liturgies,' and 'the consecrated bread at the

Communion of the people in the Church of Rome ' ; and discusses the meaning and purpose of each kind of elevation. The enquiry is conducted with obvious candour and fairness, and shews signs of diligent study and much thought ; and we do not think that either Anglican or Roman Catholic scholars will question the correctness of the Bishop's ' general conclusion ' that ' while the forms of elevation which were practised before consecration appear to have had for the most part a God-ward intention, all ¹ elevation after consecration has by almost unanimous testimony been practised with a view to displaying the hallowed bread and wine to the people either as an invitation to Communion or in later times to evoke their adoration,' although allowance must be made for the existence of secondary in addition to primary purposes, since an elevation primarily intended as an invitation to Communion does as a matter of fact also elicit the adoration of those who are accustomed to adore our Lord in the Sacrament, and an elevation primarily intended to evoke the adoration of the people may well be also associated in the minds of those who regard the Eucharist as a sacrifice with a setting forth of the offering before God. Such passages as those from Durandus of Mende and the *Expositio Missae* ascribed to St. Bonaventura, which the Bishop himself quotes, sufficiently illustrate this fact ; and it is well known to those who are familiar with the liturgical writers of the Middle Ages that one ceremony is constantly regarded as involving a number of different significations.

While we do not question the correctness of the ' general conclusion ' and recognize the care and impartiality of the book, we do not think that it possesses the grasp which results from complete familiarity with a subject. The author does not appear to have mastered the teaching of the Schoolmen on the doctrine of the Eucharist ; his lack of acquaintance with some technicalities is manifest ; he shews no sign that he has paid attention to the controversies at Paris during the twelfth century in regard to the moment of consecration, a bit of history of very high importance in connexion with the subject of his book ; and he does not always comprehend the real meaning of Eucharistic doctrines which he does not himself accept. The work may be sincerely and heartily welcomed as the painstaking and honest attempt of a good scholar and learned man to deal

¹ There is some uncertainty, as the Bishop elsewhere recognizes, as to the purpose of the elevation at *Omnis honor et gloria* in the Canon of the Mass

fairly with an acutely controversial subject ; but it is impossible not to feel that the matter in some of its bearings is outside those which the author is most competent to treat.

¶ The Bishop mentions in the preface that he was led to write the book in consequence of the evidence as to elevation of the Sacrament in the Church of England given before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. He adds that the elevation of the Host in the Roman Mass has an intention 'which marks distinctly the "line of deep cleavage" between the Churches of England and Rome.' It is to be regretted that he should have reproduced the contention of the report of the Commission that the prayers and ceremonies of the Canon of the Mass are repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England which at the appearance of the report gave such deep offence to serious students of doctrine and ceremonial.¹ The rightfulness of the adoration of our Lord present in the consecrated Sacrament does not depend on any doctrine which is alien to the teaching of the Church of England.

A Ritual and Ceremonial Commentary on the Occasional Offices of Holy Baptism, Matrimony, Penance, Communion of the Sick, and Extreme Unction. By the REV. C. P. A. BURNETT, B.D., Curate of St. Ignatius' Church, New York. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907.) 7s. 6d. net.

THE object of Mr. Burnett's book is to provide clergy with prayers and instructions supplementary to those in the Prayer-book of the American Church. The additions are chiefly taken from the forms in use in the Church of Rome ; and the work of translating and incorporating them has been done with accuracy and precision. Mr. Burnett suggests that his work may be of use to others besides those who are able to carry out its provisions fully. We are no advocates for any very severe restrictions on the private devotions of the officiant or on the ceremonial used in the offices of the Church. Rather we think that in the present circumstances of the English and American Churches a somewhat exceptional degree of freedom in these matters may rightly be allowed. Such a view does not involve approval

¹ The untenable character of this part of the report was pointed out in our pages when the report was issued. See *C.Q.R.* October 1906, pp. 28, 29. It was severely criticized by the Bishop of Birmingham in his *Diocesan Magazine* for August 1906, and in the preface to the fourth edition of his book, *The Body of Christ*, pp. v-x.

of the introduction in the Office of Holy Baptism, to take but one instance, of the exsufflation, the administration of exorcised and blessed salt, the exorcism, the touching with saliva, the anointing before the Baptism with oil, the anointing after the Baptism with chrism, the putting on of the chrisom cloth, and the giving of a lighted candle. A book like Mr. Burnett's may do good if it is read with discretion as a source of information ; it will do harm if clergy feel bound to carry out his suggestions.

Obsequiale, or the Rites to be observed at the Burial of the Dead.

Arranged by the Rev. WILLIAM L. HAYWARD, B.D., Priest of the Congregation of the Companions of the Holy Saviour. (New York and London : Longmans, 1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

WHEN the compiler of this *Obsequiale* says in the Introduction that ' the Latin breviary, missal, and ritual are as much a part of our inheritance as is the Prayer Book itself,' he may be left to settle that question with his own superiors. But the publication of his manual gives us the opportunity of pointing out that the need of ' enrichment ' in our Church services, to which the Lambeth Conference bore witness, is nowhere more apparent than in the Order for the Burial of the Dead, though the Bishops made no recommendations in regard to that service. Mr. Hayward has made an attempt at such enrichment by selecting among the ancient forms those which in his judgement are not out of sympathy with the Reformed service upon which he has grafted them. If he cannot be held to have succeeded, it is because he has not recognized that in order to avoid the risk of returning to the errors against which the Reformed Order was a protest, it is necessary in a form of public prayer, *ex abundanti cautela*, to recognize certain definite principles, and to restrict the Church's supplication within narrower limits than a Christian might allow himself in private devotion.

The first principle we should be inclined to suggest for an *Obsequiale* is that laid down by St. Augustine in the lesson introduced by Bishop Hilsey into the *Primer* of 1535, viz. that all obsequies are ' rather for the comfort of the living than the help of the dead.' This principle arises from the absence of any clear revelation as to the state of the blessed dead or their needs. On no subject is it so true that ' we know not what to pray for as we ought.' It behoves us therefore in our public services, while allowing petitions which seem to us in accordance with the will of God, not to convey the impression that the answer to such prayers is assured ; as we rightly do, for example, in the

administration of the Sacraments. It will be admitted by the majority of Church people that we are justified in expressing in our prayers for the departed all our wishes for them, not excluding the highest wish of all, that they may reap the full benefit of every blessing brought to mankind by our Lord's atonement. The natural interpretation of St. Paul's prayer for Onesiphorus covers the use of such language as Cranmer retained in the first draft of his English Burial Service: 'Grant unto this Thy servant that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him.' But there is a marked difference between this pious aspiration, which the sternest Protestant will find in his heart, and such a rite of absolution as Mr. Hayward retains, which by the form of its collect, 'Absolve, O Lord, we beseech thee, the soul of Thy servant N,' and also by the use of such ceremonies as sprinkling and censuring, implies the confidence of a sacramental prayer based upon a divine promise. We feel convinced that the genius of the English Church must repudiate such a revival as this.

A second principle sometimes suggested, one that approved itself to the late Bishop of London and was advocated before the Commission on Discipline by the present Bishop of Birmingham, is that no public prayers should be made for the departed apart from the living. This principle is, of course, based not upon doctrinal but upon practical considerations; for it abridges the liberty that might justly be claimed on the score of doctrine alone. It recognises and approves the present practice of the Church of England in the prayer 'that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith . . . may have our perfect consummation and bliss'; and this practice, we can have no doubt, was deliberately adopted in order to limit our supplications for the dead to human needs about which we have experience because we share them, to the avoidance of merely speculative wants, such as deliverance from Purgatory. This practical rule was hinted at in Bishop Hilsey's *Primer* of 1535, and received emphatic endorsement in that of King Henry, ten years later, which revised the suffrages of the *Dirige* in the following form:—

Lord, give *thy people* eternal rest
And light perpetual shine upon them.
From the gates of hell,
Lord, deliver their souls.
I trust to see the goodness of the Lord
In the land of life.
Lord, hear my prayer
And let my cry come to thee.

The secretary of the Guild of All Souls, when examined before the recent Commission, professed himself unable to explain what was meant by the 'gates of hell' in the form of Vespers of the Dead provided by his society. The phrase comes from the psalm of Hezekiah, where it means natural death; and it may be legitimately adopted by Christians to mean spiritual death. So interpreted the prayer is one that may be used without offence of all the Lord's people. But when used only of the dead, as by the Guild of All Souls and in Mr. Hayward's revival of the mediæval rite, it raises at once questions of doctrine. Vague expressions of this sort are tolerable in a service which has been in constant use from generation to generation, because they have become poetry and are interpreted by each new generation in accordance with its present beliefs. But when such forms are proposed for revival they must be more carefully scrutinized; and it does not appear to us that these suffrages of the old Office of the Dead ought to be allowed except in their Henrician shape, which was that adopted in the Elizabethan *Primer*. Mr. Hayward has made some changes in the old Office, and among them he has reduced the nine Matin lessons to two, one from each Testament; but even here he shews himself out of touch with modern requirements. With all the Old Testament to choose from, why should he put into the mouth of the twentieth-century layman that curious physiological passage from Job x.: 'Hast thou not poured me out as milk and curded me like cheese?' Here, as so often, the antiquarian spirit is the enemy of sincerity.

Hymns Ancient and Modern. For use in the services of the Church. New Edition, 1904. The tunes transposed into a lower key. With an Appendix of transposed tunes from the Old Edition, 1889. (W. Clowes and Sons, 1908.) 5s. net.

THE last century saw an astonishing development of hymnals and hymn-singing. Following the usual English method, the Church as a body has left this development largely without control. Various individuals and companies have issued books, and these have competed for success one against the other. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, though it excites serious criticism in some quarters, has on the whole distanced its competitors. It has had the advantage of the guidance of people who have kept themselves informed of the needs of parishes, and it has endeavoured to supply them. We are not, indeed, at the present

moment, concerned to discuss the value of its contents in all directions: the volume before us is only subsidiary to the general purpose of the book. But it illustrates what we think is part of the cause of the success of the book—the quickness of the proprietors to realize and anticipate the various wants of churches. Everyone knows the difficulty which comes of the limited compass of comparatively untrained voices, and the consequent necessity of selecting tunes from a rather narrow list. It may be said that the organist should be able to transpose the tunes for himself; but this is an ideal not very often realized in small parish churches. By their present issue the proprietors have gone a long way to satisfy what is a very real need. Moreover, the book is literally a storehouse of tunes. It contains not only all those in the 1904 edition, but most of those which were in the edition of 1889, and were withdrawn in 1904. Also very full indices make its use simple and easy.

There is no doubt, as we have said, that the book will supply a real need, and there may be other occasions than those we have noticed for which it would be found useful. We suppose that it was necessary to transpose all the tunes. A selection would have been difficult to make, and would probably have satisfied nobody. But we cannot think that all the tunes are equally susceptible of satisfactory and effective transposition. In all cases where the compass covered by the tune is wide, the effort to bring the high notes within reach is apt to drive the low ones out of the range of the ordinary singer. And in many cases in this book the transposition results in lower notes being written for the bass than it is wise to encourage the normal parochial bass to attempt. As a rule the original key of the tune is the most satisfactory, especially if the choir sings the harmonies. We hope, therefore, that where this book is used the singing will be in unison. We should strongly recommend all organists who cannot transpose for themselves to have this book on their desks; but we cannot help hoping also that its use will be exceptional.

IV.—SERMONS.

Christian Theology and Social Progress. 'Bampton Lectures,' 1905. By F. W. BUSSELL, D.D. (Methuen, 1907.) 10s. 6d. net.

THE familiar extract from Canon Bampton's will, printed with each set of the Bampton Lectures, reminds us that thirty copies of the lectures are to be printed within two months after they are preached. Be that as it may, the publication of Dr. Bussell's lectures took place in the same year as those of his

successor. The titles of the two sets of lectures express the similarity and difference of their aim ; but the striking contrasts of thought and style and method of treatment which the volumes present will make few regret the conjunction of circumstances which has placed the lectures (and, dare we add ? our reviews of them) side by side. A partial explanation of the delay in Dr. Bussell's case is the fact that the supplementary portion of the book is unusually large. The lectures themselves occupy 145 pages, and there are 184 pages of supplementary matter. Two pages of index, and an interesting preface addressed to the Vice-Chancellor as Dr. Bussell's first tutor, complete the volume. It is no condemnation of a course of Bampton Lectures to say that the general reader will not read them easily, and if we say that in this instance his task will prove to be a difficult one, we must hasten to add that Dr. Bussell's book will repay the effort made to master it. The subject certainly is well suited for the times, and in days of democratic government, of socialism, and of earnest effort proceeding from such organizations as the Christian Social Union, it is a matter of great thankfulness to have an historical survey from a philosophical scholar which leads to the deliberate conclusion that the Gospel and the Gospel alone meets the needs of man.

We must give a brief description of the path by which Dr. Bussell arrives at this result. At the outset he speaks with a profound sense of the chasm which separates theory and practical life—a sense of the increasing difficulty which is found to-day in justifying or explaining the moral scruple, the generous venture, the religious hope. He sees that the modern world has drifted far on the downward grade, towards an unknowable God or Root of Being, which is mere force, and gives no answer to prayer. He sees personal liberty threatened, personal value denied, and the worth of souls set aside. If social questions are approached with much sympathy, there is a lack of genuine conviction, little knowledge of average human nature, and less of the lessons of the past. It is therefore Dr. Bussell's aim to shew how general welfare is bound up with the faith and hope of Christian belief, and how the general welfare can only rightly be secured by justice to the particular, and by due respect paid to units. He begins with a general survey of the function and limits of the Christian Apologist, from the beginning of the Christian era to the threshold of the nineteenth century. The Apologist plays the part of Telemachus between the gladiators, and is acceptable to neither of the

combatants, being too popular for philosophy, and too abstruse for religion. One attempt at reconciliation in the times of the Reformation movements ended with a return to common life and the simpler demands of man ; and another closed abruptly with the French Revolution. The moral and religious instincts of man, the character and needs of his inner nature, his desire for personal communion with God are shewn in the second and third lectures to be satisfied by Christianity, and by it alone. The social development of man is next considered, by contrasting the conceptions of the mediaeval and modern state. Christianity has stood the test of reason and of fact in the last two centuries : it has now, in utilitarian days, to stand the test of usefulness, and Dr. Bussell is a fearless defender of its permanent value in the personal and social life of man. In regarding the modern age as the pensioner of the past, the lecturer dwells upon the debt owed to Christian influence, a debt not less vast because largely unrecognized ; and he lays bare the vainness of the common presumption that Christian ethics will outlast Christian dogma. Before he reaches the climax of his subject in the last lecture, he devotes himself in detail to the demonstration of the curiously downward trend of European thought in the nineteenth century, for after all there may be an evolutionary process in the downward, as well as in the upward direction. Thus finally he is led to the Gospel alone, which, in the face of scientific facts and intellectualist theory, still clings to the belief in the eternal value of the simple and humble soul. 'The future of our threatened state lies with the Church, lies with that creed which teaches that all men are equal before their Father in heaven, and that highest and lowest alike, sinners yet heirs of everlasting life, are united as brothers by a common hope in a common salvation. Hear the conclusion of the whole matter : God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself.'

We ought to add that the supplementary matter contains illustrations and embellishments of the argument which greatly add to the value of the book.

The Reproach of the Gospel. An enquiry into the apparent failure of Christianity as a general rule of life and conduct, with special reference to the present time. Being the Bampton Lectures for the year 1907. Fifth Impression. By JAMES H. F. PEILE, M.A. (Longmans, 1907-8.) 5s. 6d. net.

THESE lectures attracted the largest congregations of undergraduates seen at Bampton Lectures in St. Mary's for many

years. They raised a question which was at once interesting and important, and in attempting what was, at any rate, a partial solution of it the lecturer touched upon many points which demand and excite attention at the present time. Yet it must be confessed that anything like a complete answer to the question raised is nowhere to be met with, and that it is not always easy to trace through the wanderings of the lecturer's thought the solution which he would even seem to suggest. In the first lecture, indeed, the issue to be decided is pretty clearly stated, and the direction in which an answer is to be found is at least indicated. The remedy, Mr. Peile maintains, for any dissatisfaction which is felt towards the existing condition of Christianity is to be found, not in a new religion, nor in a restatement of Christian dogma in terms of twentieth-century thought, but in a return to the teaching of Christ, obedience to which teaching, simple and practical as it is, furnishes the best hope for the future of the race.

So far the thought is clear. It is the bearing of the following lectures on the main thread of the argument which will present difficulties to many minds. The second lecture is a vindication of the historical character of the Gospel history against the views of Loisy, Ritschl, and the Pragmatists, who all maintain (though from different standpoints) that the historical truth of the Gospel narrative is absolutely, or, at any rate, comparatively speaking, matter of indifference provided that the ideas which the narrative embodies in a more or less popular shape are found morally helpful and spiritually efficient. Such a position Mr. Peile rightly holds would seem to any man of ordinary common sense paradoxical, and the admission of the unhistorical and mythical character of the narrative in which our Lord's teaching is enshrouded would destroy for most minds any claim to authority for the teaching itself. But enough, he maintains, of the narrative contained in the Gospel is left unimpaired and even unquestioned, when criticism has done its utmost and said its last word, to convince us as it convinced His own contemporaries and followers, that 'never man spake as this man,' and that He who hung upon the Cross was really the Son of God. The conclusion here arrived at is not, it is to be observed, given as one independently argued out by the writer himself, but rather as what he conceives to be the impression likely to be produced on an earnest and fair-minded man—and such with sufficient modesty he claims himself to be—studying the controversy; while he is careful also to point out that the conclusion must gain

confirmation for each individual enquirer partly, and perhaps most convincingly, from his own experience, but also from the assent which it has commanded through all the Christian centuries from the best and holiest men whose testimony it would be foolish to neglect or ignore. If this position can be made good, not only can an adequate sanction be obtained for morality, which it otherwise lacks, but the morality of the New Testament is also invested with an authority which other systems are inevitably without. It is to make this last position clear that the lecturer passes in review the different moral systems ignoring the religious sanction—Platonism, Buddhism, Empiricism, and what are nowadays called 'Scientific Ethics'—with which Christian morality finds itself confronted. In the case of each of these systems it is shewn either that it is wanting in impelling or elevating power, or that its standard falls short of the requirements of Gospel Christianity.

Having in this way, and to this extent, established the historical position and credibility of the Christian system of morals, the author next goes on to shew that Christianity corresponds to, interprets, and provides satisfaction for certain deep-rooted principles of human nature, and most of all for that sense of Sin which, however much we may attempt to get rid of it, is apt still to persist and to assert itself in all kinds of inconvenient ways. From this the Christian system alone has, so far as we know, availed to deliver mankind, while the doctrines of the Incarnation and the sacrifice of the Cross have also been able to clear up something of that mystery of pain, the prevalence of which still makes life to so many thinkers unintelligible and almost unbearable. But if this is so, and if many have found satisfaction and salvation in Christ,

'the question will reasonably be asked,' continues the author, 'Why is it that the Incarnation does not enforce its claim upon mankind as a whole, and, in particular, why does it fail to satisfy so many of the earnest-seeking souls who have felt the emptiness and confusion of life as they know it, and long above all things for a clue to the blind labyrinth?' 'I ascribe,' he answers, 'the failure, when it does fail, chiefly to two causes—defects not in the Gospel, but in our way of presenting it, which I will call the Intellectual Fallacy and the Magical Fallacy.'

The first of these consists in the inclination which men have always displayed to insist upon some particular presentation or formulation of the truth, as if it were equivalent to the truth itself; while the second is the tendency, as old as human nature, to treat religion as a charm which can work and does work

independently of our spiritual appropriation of it. But neither of these fallacies finds any countenance or favour, Mr. Peile rightly maintains, in the teaching of our Lord Himself.

We do not know that in this view or defence of Christianity there is much that is new: almost all of it seems to have been said, some of it to have been better said, elsewhere. What does strike the reader, and what made the lectures when delivered effective, is the pervading note of personal conviction—a conviction gained not from custom, or habit, or authority, but from personal wrestling with the problems involved, and from the experience of a life lived in attempted conformity with the principles enunciated.

Having in the foregoing chapters tried to shew (as the author himself states the matter, p. 75) 'that Christianity, as Christ taught it, is able to satisfy alike the demands of the intelligence and the cravings of the spirit, that it gives a true and sufficient answer to the riddle of life, the only answer that will cover all the facts,' Mr. Peile passes on in the next two lectures 'to consider the still more difficult problem of the relation of the Gospel to the complex life of highly organized societies.' The problem, he continues, includes three questions—one easy to answer, the other two less easy. First, Is existing civilization in harmony with the rule of life laid down by Christ? Second, Can it, as it stands, be brought into harmony with that rule? And third, If the opposition prove to be wholly or in part irreconcilable, which is to give way? These questions he further applies first to the relations of modern States one to another, whether in war or peace; secondly, to the State's treatment of its own citizens; thirdly, to their dealings one with another. The first of these questions he has no difficulty in answering in respect of any of the departments here enumerated; and his answer is emphatically in the negative. The relations of States to one another, whether in respect of war, and still more, perhaps, in respect of their commercial dealings which make up their main interest in time of peace, are not in accordance with the principles that Christ enunciated; nor does any existing State act in accordance with these principles in its dealings with its own individual citizens; nor again are the dealings of citizens one with another in accordance with these principles. Towards war, indeed, if carried on with clean hands and for a just and sufficient cause, the preacher, because of the many incidental advantages which it is capable of bringing with it in respect of training and discipline of character,

shews a certain tenderness. Here he considers that Christian principles are not, or need not be, widely departed from. But for the dealings of commerce as conducted under the modern State he has scarcely anything but the most unqualified denunciation; and indeed, though to some extent we may think that he has exaggerated the evils which result from the existing state of things (under which few of those who live lives of Christian self-restraint, honesty, sobriety, purity, will necessarily fall into serious misfortune), still there can be no doubt that the whole machinery of the commercial world does sorely need to be more penetrated than it is at present by Christian principles, and that in its penetration by those principles lies the best hope of progress in the future and of improved conditions for all concerned. Only in saying this it does not follow that we should attempt the impossible and reconstruct society on a wholly new basis. How far the preacher considers this to be necessary is not very clear from his words. In some passages he speaks as if the existing state of things had gone so hopelessly wrong and had led in every direction to such disastrous results, that nothing short of a complete reconstruction of society on a new socialistic basis could put matters right (this seems to be the general position adopted in Lectures V. and VI.); while in other passages, *e.g.* at the end of Lecture IV., he seems to look for an escape from our existing evils rather in the direction of an improvement and purification of the existing order by the help of Christian principles than in a complete reconstruction of it. The latter seems to be certainly the truer, as it is undoubtedly the more practical view.

Here it is obvious that we are discussing the second and to some extent the third of the questions which were laid down as topics for consideration, *viz.* whether existing civilization can be brought into harmony with the rule of Christ, and, if the opposition prove wholly or in part irreconcilable, which must give way? And this, so far as we can understand and follow their general scope, is the question raised also in the sixth and seventh of the lectures. The first of these, entitled 'Anarchy not the Cure,' is directed to shewing that in no mere revolt against organized society nor in holding aloof from it can a remedy for our present evils possibly be found; and that neither by precept nor by example can it be maintained that our Lord favoured such a course; the business of Christians, under representative institutions at any rate, is and must be to bring our laws into closer harmony with Christian principles, and no one can rightly attempt, by setting up a plea of the need for spiritual isolation,

to exempt himself from this obligation. All this seems clear and will, we think, largely commend itself to most readers.

But the discussion as to the need for a Church and the chief functions which a Church should fulfil, with which the sixth lecture closes, seems to interrupt, somewhat awkwardly, the main thread of the argument ; nor can we at all assent to the amazing propositions which in the course of the discussion Mr. Peile lays down, viz. 'that there is nothing in the extant discourses of our Lord to prove that He contemplated the founding of what we mean by a Christian Church,' and 'that the author of the conception of the Church, as we know it, was, humanly speaking, not Jesus but Paul.' It had certainly seemed to most of us that the results of all modern enquiry into the source and character of the original Gospel had been to shew that the foundation of a Christian Society had played an even larger part in our Lord's public ministry than had been previously supposed, and that it was impossible to separate His work on earth from the Society which He had founded.

The seventh lecture deals with the question whether in case of conflict Christianity is to supersede existing institutions. It is the most eloquent and persuasive, but also perhaps the least convincing, of the whole series. That Christianity has been and must be, when at its best, a revolutionary force, and will, therefore, tend to interfere with and override the existing order is obvious enough ; but we are left without guidance (so far as the discussion following is concerned) as to the direction which the revolution should take, or what are the limits, if any, within which it should be confined. Yet these are just the questions on which, if Christianity is to be saved from being a failure, we want both light and guidance ; and though in the last lecture some slight attempt is made to supply the deficiency and to suggest in outline some of the lines which it is desirable the revolution should follow, the sketch is left so rudimentary and imperfect, or at any rate so indefinite, as to furnish little help in practice. Of these defects in the treatment of his subject the author is himself not unaware. He recognizes, he tells us, 'that he has raised more questions than he has solved, that the results he has reached have been in many instances of an almost purely negative character' ; but from this criticism he defends himself in advance by the answer that he has acted thus 'in the hope of getting some of them answered by wiser and better people than himself ; and in the hope of raising doubts whether we are going the right way in our attempts to answer others.'

'I desire,' he continues, 'to make people, especially people in Oxford, discontented, to make them think and wonder and inquire whether all is well, and if all is not well, how it is to be mended; and I shall have succeeded so far, if my words help, even in a small degree, in bringing the fine intellect and character of Oxford to give itself to the solution of the riddles which perplex and threaten us.' There is force, no doubt, in such a plea; and yet one cannot but wonder whether the practice of raising these fundamental questions, to which, on the lecturer's own shewing, no direct answer is to be expected, has not gone far enough, and whether we should not do more wisely to think out with such limited knowledge and ability as we may possess solutions of questions which, if less interesting and of more limited extent, are still difficult and intricate enough, and call in many instances loudly for an answer.

The Invisible Glory. Selected Sermons preached by GEORGE HOWARD WILKINSON, D.D., Primus of the Scottish Church. With a Preface by the BISHOP OF LONDON. (Mowbray, 1908.) 5s. net.

THERE was something about the late Bishop of St. Andrews which for any who have come under the spell of his influence makes a review of his sermons almost an impertinence. The power of his personality was so wholly unlike the ordinary forces of human character that the echo of his speech, which remains with us in his published writings, seems to belong to another sphere than that of literary criticism. We felt him, and we feel him still, as a presence that belongs to the inner chamber of our lives. As we turn the pages of this volume we see again the spare figure with pale face and lustrous eyes and shining coal-black hair; we hear once more that earnest voice with the sob in it that is unforgettable. It is just the phrase 'the invisible glory' that best describes both the contents of the volume before us and the man of whom they are the memorial. Judged by all ordinary standards, there is nothing which marks these sermons as outstanding or lends distinction to them. There is no peculiar literary grace, no philosophic grasp, no powerful analysis of motive and character. They cannot be described as a message for the times; for the special problems, economic, industrial, social, which the age presents, are not prominent in the preacher's thought. If we want guidance in the perplexities that spring from Biblical criticism or modern thought, we shall scarcely look to these pages for any definite

and direct assistance in their solution. Again, there is very little of the prophet, at least in the pre-Christian sense of the word, in Bishop Wilkinson. He acquiesces in the social order, and in his attitude towards the sins of society, which few could have known better than he, there is little of indignant protest, far less of withering satire. And yet his very presence was always an appeal to conscience, which rebuked the sin while it drew the sinner. So with the message of peace, pardon, progress, and joy contained in the sermons now collected as the latest harvest of his teaching. They represent the summons of the personal Christ, crucified for men, to the conscience, love, and gratitude of those on whose behalf He died.

Bishop Wilkinson was a High Churchman, if a devout belief in the commission of an Historic Ministry and in the efficacy of Sacraments constitute a claim to this title; but his lineage is hardly that of the Tractarians. There is in his presentation of religion what can only be called a personal element, which is at least not so prominent in the writings of the earlier school. By this is not meant personal loyalty to our Lord, which is nowhere more prominent than in the sermons of Dr. Liddon. It is rather in the manner of conceiving the work of Christ and the primary aspect of the Gospel that the difference becomes apparent. Here the Bishop is in line with the Evangelical rather than the Tractarian. Reconciliation, Forgiveness, Justification, mean to him precisely what they would have meant to Wesley, Venn, or Simeon. He stirs conscience by making the most of the very ideas which some are too ready to evacuate of all their direct appeal to conscience, gratitude, and love, by resolving them into others wrongly thought to be more obviously consistent with morality. A few instances from the present volume will make this clear. In the sermon entitled 'Mighty to Save,' he speaks of the 'inversion of the order of God's teaching, by which you try *first* to be *made holy*, and *then* to *believe*. He does not shrink from insisting on the aspect of sin as debt, and the Cross as the reconciliation which consists in the satisfaction of that debt. Here is a passage in 'Rest for the Workers':

'Dear brethren, do you not know that the very foundation of all Christ's ministry, alike to workers and to sufferers, is this: that He was given by the Father to be the one great Reconciler between God and man? Do you not know that God, in a mystery, "made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin"? As truly as if you were in debt, and someone came to you and said, "I have paid thy debt," so, over and over again in the blessed Gospel does Jesus Christ address Himself to your human heart,

saying, "I have paid thy debt : I was wounded for thy transgressions ; I was bruised for thine iniquities : the chastisement of thy peace was laid on Me ; by My stripes thou hast been healed. Come unto Me, with that load of guilt ; I will give thee rest."

The sermon on the Atonement shews, as we might expect, that the Bishop preached this great mystery not only in the phraseology of the old Evangelicalism, but in its simplicity. After stating the undoubted truth that half the difficulties which perplex the intelligent mind would vanish if we would only realize that 'the love of the Father is the fountain of all redemption,' he goes on to insist that the Cross must be accepted as a finished work by a humility which is content to say 'I can do nothing. I cannot feel anything. I can only receive that which nineteen hundred years ago was wrought out for me.' Most modern preachers would, at this point, somewhat anxiously assure their hearers that Christ's work for us is only a means to His work in us, which is the real staple of their Gospel. But Bishop Wilkinson keeps closer to the New Testament, because he realizes that the primary aspect of the Cross as a sacrifice for sin relates it to the past and not to the future, and that the joy of the glad news springs out of the fact that it tells of a cancelled record. 'Think simply,' he says ; 'God says that my past is buried. God tells me that I may believe in Jesus Christ for complete forgiveness.' The life of holiness is implicit in that message of pardon accepted by faith :

'God puts us all on the same level, and, destroying pride out of the heart of all of us, gives to all of us the same fundamental and divine hope. God, without any question as to what we have done, or how we have behaved, has manifested Himself to us in the Sacrifice of His Son, has offered to us the simple largeness of His divine offer of forgiveness, and demands of us this only : that, knowing what we are, and what God is, we take God at His Word. And henceforth we are free men and women, *emancipated simply by the largeness of that Word of pure and unmerited forgiveness.*'

The italicized clause strikes a note which is, we think, too seldom heard in the teaching of High Churchmen. And there is a subtle Evangelicalism pervading even what we may call the Catholic side of his teaching. With him the Sacraments are rather the application of the Atonement than the extension of the Incarnation. And when, in recommending the use of confession, he says, 'A clergyman, who has only lately been ordained, *if he knows the peace of God in his own heart*, can help you here as much as the most experienced guide'; the italicized

clause relieves this conception of auricular confession of all technicality and officialism, and transforms it into a genuine ministry of reconciliation.

It is this Catholic Evangelicalism of Bishop Wilkinson which, so far as these things are capable of analysis, was the real secret of his immense influence. He had realized for himself that the work of Christ was not to establish a system of means for the redemption of human character but to restore personal relations between the soul of every man and the eternal Father. Though wise enough to avoid the technical terms of evangelical theology, such as imputation, substitution, assurance, which in the minds of those whose theological environment has been different, stand for strange travesties of Evangelical truth, he employs all the ideas which they represent. Balanced as they are by their relation to the rest of Christian truth, but never evacuated of their simple and obvious meaning, they become the most powerful, because the most loving, appeal to heart and conscience. Sanctification, Sacraments, the Church system, all alike must start from it. The relation could not be more tersely expressed than in these sentences from the sermon called 'Mighty to Save':

'Forgiveness is the beginning, and not the end, of the Christian life. We are set free at once from the burden of guilt, in order that we may *run* in the way of God's commandments with a heart at liberty; that we may live in Him, and for Him; that, being nourished by the Body and Blood of our Lord, we may grow in grace, and bring forth fruit unto holiness, to the praise of the glory of His grace Who hath made us accepted in the Beloved.'

It is scarcely necessary to add that Bishop Wilkinson was, what too many modern preachers are not, steeped in the language of Scripture.

V.—MISSIONS.

The Uplift of China. By the Rev. A. H. SMITH, D.D. British Edition. With a Supplementary Chapter on the Work of the C.M.S. (C.M.S., 1907.) 2s. net.

AN American text-book on Christian work in China, adapted to British use—such is an accurate summary of this volume. Dr. Smith is an able writer, and the course taken has been eminently judicious. The C.M.S. (whose example has been followed by the S.P.G.) is enabled thus to circulate among its supporters a work brief yet comprehensive, full of useful facts, and at the same time never dull, which gives a fair and impartial

account, not of C.M.S. work alone, but of missions to China generally, past and present; which draws a lifelike picture of country and people, pointing out the greatness of the Chinese race, and the many problems the missionary must face that he may preach the Gospel with effect among them. Dr. Smith's tone is at once earnest and judicial; thus while noting the defective methods of Roman Catholic missions, particularly those of the Jesuits, he asserts with enthusiasm the greatness of such men as Ricci, Schaal, and Verbiest, and emphasizes the reality of Roman Catholic Christianity in China, particularly during the persecutions of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the finest passage in the book is his summary (pp. 150-153) of the labours of Morrison and his immediate successors, and the gigantic difficulties which they overcame. Few will dispute his judgement concerning them, that they were 'men of a phenomenal type, specially raised up by God to do the preliminary work.'

Our Sister Beatrice. Recollections of Beatrice Jullian Allen and her Letters. Collected by her Sister, GRACE GRIER. (Longmans, 1907.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE life of Beatrice Allen was a truly noble one. It was a life which knew not self—absolutely devoted to her fellow men and women, for the love of that Lord to whom she was anxious to win them. After fifteen years of toil among the outcast and degraded, mainly though not wholly in London—for twelve of which she was secretary to the Pimlico Ladies' Association for the Care of Friendless Girls—she went in 1895 as a C.M.S. missionary to Japan. There, with a single interval for home-coming, due to illness (1899-1900), she laboured till her final return and death in 1905. Mrs. Grier has allowed her sister during this period to tell in the main her own story. We will not quote from her brightly written letters; we commend them heartily to the reader, with the certainty that they will interest him, not only in the writer but in work for Christ among the Japanese. Four independent accounts (by fellow-labourers) of Beatrice Allen's share in that work are also found in this book: they fully bear out the impression given by the letters, that hers was in many respects an exceptional personality. She was fitted to deal with all alike, from the intellectual man to the simplest child. 'Great mental gifts, strength of character, definiteness of purpose, zeal and wisdom,' these were her qualities; and to them we may add, physical strength, energy so untiring that

she had often 'no leisure so much as to eat,' intense prayerfulness, and an equally intense love for all whose souls she came to win.

Handbooks of English Church Expansion :—

1. *Japan*. By MRS. EDWARD BICKERSTETH.
2. *Western Canada*. By the Rev. L. NORMAN TUCKER.
3. *China*. By the Rev. F. L. NORRIS. (Mowbray, 1908.) 2s. each net.

THIS series of handbooks, edited jointly by Canons Dodson and Bullock-Webster, is meant to serve an important purpose, viz. to interest in the progress of Church of England missions during the past half-century 'a general public which has not been accustomed to read missionary magazines.' The Bishop of St. Albans, in his general preface, predicts for it 'no mean success in forming and quickening the public mind.' The first three volumes certainly make a good beginning for such an object. Each of them—notably, perhaps, that on Western Canada—fills, in many respects, a place occupied by no other book on the subject with which it deals. Each of them, while referring with sympathy to other work for Christ, relates only that of the English Church; each strives to create interest by dwelling on local or diocesan effort (especially the latter), on the life and labours of typical missionaries, on representative examples of successful work, etc., thus presenting to the average Churchman a real and vivid picture, never overloaded with details. Mr. Norman Tucker's *Western Canada* is delightful reading, from its tone of buoyant hope, its incessant forecasts of the great future that awaits the country, both as a whole and in particular regions, its enthusiastic account of such men as 'Father Pat,' Bishop Bompas, or Archbishop Machray, and its picture of the Church's golden opportunity in the Dominion. Mrs. Bickersteth's *Japan* is also buoyant, and interesting alike from its subject and her own special opportunities; she shews us the Japanese character in all its real greatness and its many weaknesses, pointing out how the true remedy for the latter is Christianity, which again (in Japan of all countries) must be *national*, and how the great strength of the Nippon Sei-Kokwai is that it satisfies this requirement. Her final chapter, on 'Hindrances and Opportunities,' is of the highest value. Mr. Norris's *China*, alone of the three, has a tinge of sadness running through it; save in the province of Fuh-kien, the Church has not yet prospered in China as in Canada or Japan; hindrances have

been many, both from without and within—of the latter, not the least being a want of real co-operation between the English and American missions. But signs of steady growth are now evident; the defects are being remedied; educational and medical work are rightly given much greater prominence; and steps are being taken to form in the near future a united Church of China, which may God bless, even as He has already blessed the neighbouring Church of Japan!

VI.—EDUCATION.

The Practice of Instruction. Edited by J. W. ADAMSON.
(National Society, 1907.) 4s. 6d.

THIS book comprises two parts: in the first (pp. 1-124) Professor Adamson deals with 'General Method and Curriculum'; in the second (pp. 125-504) various expert writers discuss the different sub-divisions of education. Stress is laid in the Preface on the frequent appeals which are made in the course of the book to foreign practice, and the reader's attention is called to the useful short bibliographies which conclude the several sections, and which include references to German, French, and American works.

In Part I. Professor Adamson has followed the example of George Meredith, who prefixes to *Diana of the Crossways* a well-known chapter of perverse difficulty, by alarming the reader in his first section with a very hard piece of psychological statement. The book gets simpler as the reader advances. The benefit which the teacher derives from a book of this kind is that by being forced to think of the first principles of education his views of his duty are clarified and deepened. He perceives that it is not enough to express oneself clearly and attractively to one's pupils, but that education is an affair of give and take, in which one of the criteria of professional success is the degree in which the co-operation of the pupil in mental processes is invited and secured. A zealous teacher who does everything for his class may be gratifying his own sense of power and imparting masses of information; he is not building up character and will-power in his pupils, and in so far as that is the case, he is instructing rather than educating them. That Mr. Adamson's treatment is up to date may be judged among other things from the clear statements which he gives of the Heuristic method and the Frankfurt programme. Indeed, we should have liked even more information about the latter experiment. If we had

to name a fault in the first part of the book, it would be that it is somewhat uneven in texture: useful hints to teachers at times jostle difficult psychological trains of thought in a disconcerting way.

In Part II., as the Preface points out, 'absolute unanimity of opinion on all points was scarcely to be expected.' On one point, however, the ten collaborators are agreed (p. vii) 'that a humanist element is a necessary one in the curriculum of all schools, not excepting the humblest, and that as a consequence literature, ancient and modern, is as vital to the soundness of a school curriculum as is some branch or aspect of mathematics or natural science.' The Preface notes one omission in Part II., any attempt namely to deal with 'such indispensable parts of a school education as physical training, drawing, and all kinds of manual work, singing and arts generally.' We should have thought that room could have been found for a few thoughts on music in schools, at any rate, by cutting down the essay on Geography by one-half.

Dr. Headlam's essay on Religious Instruction is 'written definitely from the point of view of a Churchman' (p. 145). He emphasizes the necessity of 'training the character of the teacher'—a point about which we do not hear enough in modern educational controversies. Speaking of secondary education, Dr. Headlam urges that the ordinary arts or science student at the University should have the chance 'of obtaining voluntarily a diploma of religious knowledge, such as may guarantee that he has studied in an adequate and intelligent manner some portions of the Old or New Testament, and perhaps some side of the philosophical basis of religion.'

The author of the section on History strikes us as being too modest in the demands which he makes for his subject. 'Why,' he says (p. 249), 'it may be asked in these days of crowded curricula should we teach children history at all, seeing that the study is one which is more especially suitable to the adult mind?' It is true that he proceeds to answer this question in detail; but he seems to us not to hit the nail sufficiently hard on the head. *Non tali auxilio*. His whole treatment of the subject, see especially p. 255 on the question of Universal History, is too apologetic.

The Mathematical section seems to contain a good deal that is obvious. It is written on the whole upon the lines suggested by modern changes, but perhaps too much stress is laid on the value of graphs in teaching algebra.

Canon Lyttelton has dealt in the *Classical Review* with the oral method of teaching Latin and Greek, as advocated here by Dr. Rouse and Mr. Jones. Their joint essay contains many valuable hints, but we remain still unconvinced of the applicability of the oral method to classes of more than ten boys, or for longer periods than a few elementary weeks; and we are still unimpressed with the rather thin and threadbare results which its advocates produce in its support. The case for it is well put in this book, and interesting examples of actual work produced on these lines are given.

VII.—BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Hidden Saints : a Study of the Brothers of the Common Life.

By S. HARVEY GEM, M.A. (S.P.C.K., 1907.) 2s. 6d.

THE fascinating record of the founding and maintenance of the Brothers of the Common Life, and the monasteries in connexion with them, is given here with clearness and simplicity, and with much sympathy, in spite of some funnily unexpected windings of the Protestant horn. The writer has spared no pains in the collection of material (a great deal of it given for the first time in English), and has compiled a model bibliography.

Mr. Gem states that the *moderna devotio*, initiated by Gerard Groot (1340-1384) and his disciple Florentius Radewin (1350-1400), resulted in the establishment of the Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods of the Common Life, without vows, and of monasteries and convents of regulars in connexion with them. 'The object in view was the revival of piety and morals, in strict connexion with the faith of the mediaeval Church. The movement represented no mere outward reform, but the inner spirit of vital religion. In combating the evils of the day, Gerard Groot desired to recruit the degenerated monasteries with better novices, and supply more earnest young men to the priesthood, and influence for good the people at large.' All classes were represented, and manifold occupations engaged in: copying and binding books, even writing and, later on, printing them; teaching; work in the garden and the kitchen, a share in these last being compulsory. The Sisters also taught, tended the sick, copied books, painted miniatures, spun, and sewed. The simple and excellent rule is given of the monks at Mount St. Agnes, the home for so many years of Thomas à Kempis. It was founded upon the Augustinian, but the Brothers 'took suggestions also from the customs of other Orders, especially

the Carthusians. When they had formed these rules, they did not at once establish them, but gave themselves time to test them by experience.' So says Busch, one of their number, in his invaluable *Chronicle of the Monks of Windesheim*.

Mr. Gem deserves especial thanks for his extracts from this, and from Dunbar's *Analecta*, containing the simple and touching records of the life and death of many of these holy men, with delightful examples of their naïve humanity and directness of statement. Florentius, we are glad to read, was not above caring for the comfort of those under his charge, and complained to the cook, John Ketel, a very devout and humble Brother, that the food had 'an ill savour,' and the Brothers probably disliked it very much. John listened meekly, replying that he would gladly amend himself, to which Florentius returned, 'Thou dost often say so, yet thou dost make too small improvement.' The holy John Hatten, when contradicted, 'would not argue, nor pertinaciously defend his own opinion, but quietly reply "Perhaps it may not be as I have said; I have not read everything, nor do I know everything; the Scripture has a nose of wax, and is pinched by different people in various directions."'" The zeal of those Brothers who 'when they dined out with some of the burghers used to reward their hosts for the entertainment by pointing out to them the defects of their characters,' probably met with its own reward. Of greater sagacity were the humble and self-condemning criticisms of one of the Rectors of the house of Deventer, who found the two reasons why the Brothers made so little progress to be, 'that we observe the hours in a negligent way, and that we do not prepare ourselves for the Holy Communion in a sufficiently worthy manner'; and who knew but too well that a priest 'unless he practise himself in virtues and spiritual exercises with great effort and endurance, will fall away day by day, whether he is himself aware of it or not; for the office of a presbyter presupposes much, and its duties use up a great deal of virtue.'

Father Jones of Cardiff. A Memoir of the Rev. Griffith Arthur Jones, for over thirty years Vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff. By two former Curates, J. W. W. and H. A. C., with an Introduction by the Rev. G. BODY, D.D. (Mowbray, 1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

It is rather startling to read of the Feast of the Assumption being kept in a small parish church in Wales in the year 1869. But Father Arthur Jones so kept it; and when we find how he re-

tained the black gown for a considerable time in the next cure of souls he undertook, rather than make changes too fast, we begin to understand how it was that he impressed himself so deeply upon a large and difficult parish. He was the kind of man who got exactly what he intended to get. Struggles not a few, and violent opposition we read of; but, so far as we can trace, no lasting bitterness. And his courage, coolness, charity, and single-mindedness won in the long run. The record of the removal from St. Mary's of the huge pulpit blocking out the altar is marked by an amusing incident: one 'aggrieved parishioner' contended that the faculty for removal should be refused on the ground that *the congregation would then be able to see the priest consecrate the elements*. It is interesting and satisfactory to note that Father Jones stoutly repudiated any notion of Welsh being a dying language. He quotes Dean Edwards of Bangor and Lord Aberdare (in 1885) to prove that it is the language of familiar conversation among seven-tenths of the Welsh people; and that more persons are speaking it at present than at any previous period of history.

The whole memoir is a pathetic attempt to charge cold print with the incommunicable atmosphere that surrounds a loved and living personality. The record of his life lies in what can never be written; yet not a few will be grateful for the memories which this little book will recall.

George Rundle Prynne: a Chapter in the Early History of the Catholic Revival. By A. CLIFTON KELWAY. (Longmans.) 6s. 6d.

BISHOP STUBBS has said that 'the study of Church history is a splendid cordial for drooping spirits,' and certainly the study of the early years of the ministry of Mr. Prynne at St. Peter's, Plymouth, should put courage into the heart of any parish priest who is in danger of losing it in the face of his parochial difficulties.

The riots and disorders occasioned by the most elementary efforts to promote decency and order in public worship within the lifetime of many persons still living are almost incredible, and the records of them would be regarded as gross exaggeration if they were not supported by contemporary reports in the newspapers. The picture of a church surrounded by a mob so noisy as to make the service inside almost inaudible, and all because the preacher wore a surplice instead of the black gown, seems to belong to a period ages ago.

The awful visitation of the cholera, too, seems to belong to

an England not fifty but two hundred and fifty years ago, and the fierce and unscrupulous persecution of a priest of the Church of England at the hands of his brother priests would appear impossible if written contemporary evidence and living witnesses did not remain. The difficulties overcome by Mr. Prynne at Plymouth do not exist in England to-day, and probably have disappeared from English life entirely. The Kensit riots stand on a different footing altogether.

It is this, we suppose, that has led Mr. Kelway to devote three-fifths of his book to the record of the early days of Mr. Prynne's ministry; but the book would have been far more useful if he had told us more of the details of Mr. Prynne's pastoral method and of the way in which he overcame the early opposition and gained that great and affectionate place in the minds not only of his fellow townsmen, but of English Churchmen generally, which he held at his death. A longer selection from his letters and sermons would have helped his brother priests to adopt his methods in far less difficult places than the one in which he gained so much success.

We should too, in view of the statement that he looked with great disfavour upon the ritual developments of the generation younger than his own (p. 230), have been glad to have known more of the principles which guided the ritual at St. Peter's.

But incomplete as the volume is as a biography of a private parish priest, who did noble work for souls and for the Church, we feel sure that it will find a place on many clerical bookshelves, and be often read by its owners until the larger life appears which the memory and work of Mr. Prynne deserve.

Bishop Phillpotts (who by the way spelt his name with two l's) stands out clearly as a noble and brave champion of God's Church at a time when his brethren were distinguished by inability or cowardice. Without his help and support Mr. Prynne must have been obliged to leave St. Peter's in those early days of riot and slander.

Autobiography of Montagu Burrows. Edited by S. M. BURROWS.

With a Supplementary Note by C. OMAN. (Macmillan and Co.) 8s. 6d. net.

MONTAGU BURROWS—we hesitate whether to call him captain or professor, for, as his son says, 'the sword of a Naval Officer reposed on the coffin of a Professor, and the flags at Portsmouth were dipped for a Fellow of All Souls'—played in his time so many parts that an account of him must have interest for

many kinds of readers. Our only feeling of regret is that the share of this volume devoted to the Navy is out of proportion to the rest. Four chapters for the years 1819-1852, and a single chapter of autobiography for Oxford from 1852 onwards, leave something to be desired. But we must respect the feelings of his son and editor when he tells us that the remainder is either too domestic and personal for publication, or concerns recent Oxford events which have not yet come into focus. But in truth the volume before us is the consistent story of a life as a whole, a life of straightforward, strenuous devotion to duty wherever found, tinged with strong religious feeling and action throughout. Burrows joined the Navy in the piping times of peace, but he managed in the space of twenty years to see enough active service to remind us that the British Navy has always to be ready. Brushes with Malay pirates in the East Indies, pursuits of slavers on the African coast, and the bombardment of Acre in 1840, when four men were killed and seven wounded on board his ship the 'Edinburgh,' are some of the most stirring incidents in his sea life. The autobiography gives a graphic account of the daily life of a young officer on distant stations, when hard drinking was in fashion and duelling had not yet died out. But throughout we find the note of individuality in Burrows, who always had the courage of his convictions and was not afraid to act up to them. Through it also is the desire to help others in the way of education, by which he was preparing himself for his future duties, and through it all is the literally marvellous amount of reading which he got through on board ship. Here is his list for 1836, when seventeen years old :

'Abbott's *China and the English* ; the Edicts and letters connected with the opening of Free Trade and the Mission of Lord Napier ; Basil Hall on *India and the Trade Winds* ; Bishop Heber's *Journals* ; *Men and Manners in America* ; Hannah More's *Correspondence* and her *Practical Piety* ; Kirke White's *Remains* ; Bishop Wilson's *Evidences of Christianity* ; Butler's *Analogy* ; General Burn's *Contrast between a Christian and a Man of the World* ; Young's *Night Thoughts* ; and I now took up Italian again and Algebra.'

The list for 1837 and 1838 is almost more remarkable, and in 1844, on the African coast, he 'got at the sense' of the *Iliad* with a *Clavis Homerica* 'which in a way did duty for a *Lexicon*.'

After this one feels almost inclined to sympathize with the Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, who, after hearing his praises sung by his relatives, exclaimed : 'A very excellent

young man, no doubt ; very good at his books. Sure to break out, sure to break out.'

But Burrows never did break out. Of him safely may be said, *Qualis ab incepto*. The spirit which led him as a midshipman to say his prayers in the cockpit, and to go with two other midshipmen to Communion at Lisbon, where no midshipmen had ever been seen before, was the same spirit which made him as an undergraduate never miss chapel, morning or evening, and as a professor made him a constant and regular attendant at the services at All Souls. The same ready helpfulness to others which prompted him, in 1843, to undertake the duties of naval instructor for the youngsters on board the 'Thunderbolt,' to form a daily school for the ship's boys on board the 'Sappho' in 1846, or a confirmation class on board the 'Excellent' in 1848, made him in after-life the most popular coach in Oxford, and to the last the friendly supervisor of the Sunday school class in St. Giles' that he had formed more than forty years before. The same determined spirit of self-education, which had not been daunted by the gun-room, won its way in the more congenial atmosphere of Oxford to two firsts (in Law and History, and *Literae Humaniores*) and a professorship. Even in religion his principles, he tells us, were fixed as long ago as 1845. Founded on Evangelical teaching, he felt the force of the High Church movement, and 'was indeed distinctly [a High Churchman] myself.' But he never attached himself to any of the Tractarian leaders, and though he became a member of the E.C.U., yet in 1866, having as chairman of a meeting at Oxford read a paper on the Ritualism of the day 'which was very ill-received,' he resigned his connexion with the society. To the last he would probably have described himself as a High Churchman of the school of Bishop Wilberforce. But, as he himself says, he fell between two stools, and, as Professor Oman, his successor, tells us in a most sympathetic chapter, he 'had a great dread of the consequences of letting extreme and lawless ritualists get promotion in the Church of England.'

Of the time at Oxford, filled as it was with professorship, authorship, schools, newspapers, politics, and diocesan conferences, we hear less than we could have wished. Burrows was always a fighter, and often came into collision with the radicalism of Oxford, which is apt to claim for itself a monopoly of intellectual life. His election to the professorship, which, as he says, astonished him, was much criticized at the time.

Yet no one who reads the names of the electors, Archbishop Sumner, Lord John Russell, Lord Westbury, Dr. Lushington, and Dr. Leighton, Warden of All Souls, can suspect them of a Tory job. Possibly, as Burrows himself says, a Board composed of narrow Tories might have hesitated.

But these controversies have passed away, and we are grateful to the son for carrying on the traditions of his father as an editor of family annals, and for giving us, mainly in his father's own words, a portrait of one who would have been well content that it should be said of him, as he wished it to be thought of his forebears, that he feared God and honoured the King.

PERIODICALS.

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The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 31-3. July-September 1908. Hodder and Stoughton). G. A. Smith: 'Herr Alois Musil on the Land of Moab,' I. (II. Aug.). J. B. Mayor: 'The Helvidian *versus* the Epiphanian Hypothesis,' I. (II. Aug. Additional Note, Sept.). In reply to C.Q.R. April 1908. J. H. A. Hart: 'A Plea for the Recognition of the Fourth Gospel as an Historical Authority.' D. S. Margoliouth: 'Recent Exposition of Is. liii.' E. F. Scott: 'John the Baptist and his Message.' R. Mackin-

tosh: 'Corinth and the Tragedy of St. Paul.' (Sept. 'The Brief Visit to Corinth.') J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan: 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri,' VII. (VIII.-IX. Aug.-Sept.). August. J. Orr: 'The Resurrection of Jesus: VII. The Significance of the Appearances—The Risen Body.' (VIII. Sept. 'The Apostolic Church—Visional and Apparitional Theories.') B. D. Eerdmans: 'Have the Hebrews been Nomads?' ('No.' Reply 'Yes' by Prof. G. A. Smith, Sept.). N. J. D. White: 'Eternal Life and the Knowledge of God.' W. Sherlock: 'The Potter's Field.' September. B. D. Eerdmans: 'The Hebrews in Egypt.' P. T. Forsyth: 'What is Meant by the Blood of Christ?'

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. VI. No. 4. July 1908. Williams and Norgate). W. James: 'Pluralism and Religion.' R. L. Gérard: 'Civilisation in Danger.' F. Nansen: 'Science and the Purpose of Life.' G. A. J. Ross: 'The Religionist and the Scientist: a Christian Minister's View of their Relation.' Sir E. Russell: '"An Appeal to those at the Top" and Something more.' Reviews Mr. C. C. Cotterill. W. M. Flinders Petrie: 'The Right to Constrain men for their own Good.' J. Dewey: 'Religion and our Schools.' A. H. Lloyd: 'Enlightened Action the True Basis of Morality.' S. G. Dunn: 'The Romantic Element in the Ethics of Christ.' R. Eucken: 'The Problem of Immortality.' D. S. Jordan: 'The Religion of the sensible American.' A. J. Campbell: 'The Church of Scotland and its Formula.' W. J. Williams: 'The Burden of Language in Religion, and Authority as the Means of Release: a Catholic Study.' Discussions. Reviews. J. Seth: 'Peile *The Reproach of the Gospel*;' 'R. J. Campbell *Christianity and the Social Order*;' 'H. G. Wells *New Worlds for Old*.' H. R. Mackintosh: 'J. Drummond *Studies in Christian Doctrine*.' P. Gardner: 'Tyrrell *Through Scylla and Charybdis*.' F. v. Hügel: 'Loisy *Les Évangiles synoptiques*.' H. C. Corrance: 'A. L. Lilley *Modernism: a Record and a Review*,' and other works. W. J. Davies: 'Garvie *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*,' 'Sanday *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*,' 'Weston *The One Christ*,' 'Christus *Futurus*,' and other works. G. L. Ffrench: 'Westcott *Ephesians*,' 'Milligan *Thessalonians*,' 'Mayor *Jude and II. Peter*.' B. de Sélincourt: 'N. C. Smith *Poems of Wordsworth*;' 'Coleridge *Biographia Literaria*.' L. Solomon: 'C. E. Vaughan *Types of Tragic Drama*.'

The London Quarterly Review (No. 219. July 1908. R. Culley). P. T. Forsyth: 'Prayer and its Importance.' J. Telford: 'England's Work in Egypt.' Reviews Lord Cromer. R. M. Pope: 'Modernism and Methodism.' A. T. de Mouilpied: 'Lord Kelvin.' T. H. S. Escott: 'Vicissitudes of English Episcopacy.' W. W. Holdsworth: 'The Sankhya and Neo-Platonism.' W. E. Beet: 'Innocent III. and his Times.' J. S. Banks: 'Links between the Second and the Twentieth Century.' Reviews. 'Anglican Liberalism.' 'G. A. Smith *Jerusalem*.' J. G. Tasker: 'The Wichern Centenary.' 'F. J. Hall *Authority, Ecclesiastical and Biblical*.' 'Hort *Apocalypse i-iii*.' 'W. E. Barnes *Kings*.' 'E. W. Maunder *The Astronomy of the Bible*' (very favourable). 'J. Adam *Religious Teachers of Greece*.' 'J. Mackinnon *History of Modern Liberty*, III. (1603-47). 'Cheetham *The Christian Church since the Reformation*.' 'Hyamson *History of the Jews in England*.' 'G. R. Balleine *History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*.' 'Cambridge History of

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The Irish Theological Quarterly (Vol. III. No. 11. July 1908. Dublin: M. H. Gill). J. A. Ryan: 'The Moral Aspect of Monopoly.' J. O'Mahony: 'On some Difficulties recently raised against the Argument from Design for the Existence of God.' P. McKenna: 'The judicial Character of the Sacrament of Penance.' G. S. Hitchcock, S.J.: 'The Last Things.' Extracts from a Unitarian's papers. F. H. Pope: 'Israel in Egypt after the Exodus.' J. MacCaffrey: 'The Origin and Development of Cathedral and Collegiate Chapters in the Irish Church.' Reviews. J. MacCaffrey: 'Putnam *The Censorship of the Church of Rome.*' J. MacRory: 'G. Hoberg *Die Genesis nach dem Literalsinn erklärt.*' 'M. Brodrick *Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus.*' W. McDonald: 'Contentio Veritatis'; 'Sharpe and Aveling *The Spectrum of Truth*'; 'B. C. A. Windle *What is Life?*'

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J. G. Hume: 'J. Watson *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*.' A. K. Parker: 'W. A. P. Martin *The Awakening of China*'; 'L. Joly *Le christianisme et l'extrême orient*,' 'W. E. Griffis *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*.' J. S. Gubelmann: 'K. Eger *Die Vorbildung zum Pfarramt der Volkskirche*' (a plea for University training of Lutheran ministers). H. P. J. Sellinger: 'Chadwick *The Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul*.' 'J. Knabenbauer *Commentarius in duos libros Machabaeorum*.'

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. VI. No. 3. July 1908. Princeton University Press). B. B. Warfield: 'The Westminster Assembly and its Work.' (40 pages.) G. S. Patton: 'Beyond Good and Evil.' J. Lindsay: 'Psychology of the Soul.' W. M. McPheeters: 'The Determination of Religious Value the Ultimate Problem of the Higher Criticism.' Reviews. B. B. Warfield: 'Bousset *What is Religion?*'; 'K. G. Goetz *Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*'; 'E. Doumergue *Les Étapes du Fidélisme* and *Le dernier Mot du Fidélisme*.' W. B. Greene, jr.: 'Scott Lidgett *The Christian Religion*'; 'H. Fielding Hall *The Inward Light*' (critical); 'E. F. Scott *The Apologetic of the N. T.*'; 'R. J. Campbell *Christianity and the Social Order*' (very critical). H. C. Minton: 'E. H. Johnson *Christian Agnosticism*.' J. G. Machen: 'Orr *The Virgin Birth*.' F. N. Lindsay: 'J. A. Leighton *Jesus Christ and the Civilisation of To-Day*' (favourable); 'The Christ that is to be.' L. S. Mudge: 'G. Campbell Morgan *The Practice of Prayer*' (very favourable).

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'Tyrrell Through Scylla and Charybdis'; 'Neubert Marie dans l'Église anténicéenne'; 'Bishop Hedley The Holy Eucharist.' U. Berlière: 'Bidez La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le lecteur'; 'H. Felder Histoire des Études dans l'ordre de S. François jusque vers la moitié du XIII^e siècle'; 'Baumgarten Aus Kanzlei u. Kammer'; 'Sauerland Urkunden u. Regesten zur Geschichte der Rheinlande aus dem Vaticanischen Archiv,' IV.; 'Duhr Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge'; 'Baudrillart S. Séverin' (453-82). T. A.: 'Bethune-Baker Nestorius and his Teaching.' P. de Meester: 'A. Palmieri La Chiesa Russa.' F. A. Gasquet: 'Trésal Les Origines du Schisme Anglican' (unfavourable).

Revue de l'Orient chrétien (N.S. Vol. III. No. 2. July 1908. Paris: A. Picard). F. Nau: (1) 'Le calendrier d'Aboul-Barakat, traduit en Latin par Renaudot'; (2) 'Un extrait de la Didascalie: La prière de Manassé' (avec une édition de la version syriaque); (3) 'Deux catalogues de la bibliothèque du hiéromoine Ignace en 1516-22' (notes du MS. coislin. 292); (4) 'Récents progrès de la Patrologie orientale.' F. Tournèze: 'Étude sur la conversion de l'Arménie au Christianisme. II. Housig et Nersès le réorganisateur de l'Église Arménienne: tentative de schisme par Bab.' S. Grébaut: 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine. Texte et traduction du *Mystère du Jugement des Pécheurs*' (suite). S. Vailhé: 'S. Euthyme le Grand, moine de Palestine' (376-473), III. L. Leroy: 'Les couvents des chrétiens, traduction de l'arabe d'Al Makrizi' (fin). M. Chaine: 'Note sur les animaux de S. Méнас.' F. Nau: 'H. Pognon Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul, II.'; 'Cumont Recherches sur le Manichéisme, I.'; 'M. Guidi Un Bios di Constantino.'

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Christian de Stavelot. Contribution à l'histoire des travaux scripturaires et des controverses eucharistiques du moyen âge.' L. Salembier: 'À propos du grand Schisme de l'Orient.' T. Heitz: 'Note à propos de deux lettres attribuées à S. Ignace de Loyola.' E. Palandri: 'Le rôle diplomatique de la Toscane à la veille de la Saint-Barthélemy' (1571-2). Comptes Rendus. G. Denteneer: 'E. Lehmann (and others) *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*. III. 1. *Die orientalischen Religionen*.' (6 pp.) J. Flamion: 'H. de Genouillac *L'Église chrétienne au temps de S. Ignace*'; 'Leder *Die Diakonen der Bischöfe u. Presbyter u. ihre urchristlichen Vorläufer*.' H. de Jongh: 'Drews *Die clementinische Liturgie in Rom*.' C. Baur: 'Paas *Das Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*.' R. de Schepper: 'Fournieret *Les biens de l'Église après les édis de Pacification*' et 'Thomas *Le droit de propriété des laïques sur les églises et le patronage laïque au moyen âge*.' L. van der Essen: 'Herwegen *Das Pactum des hl. Fruktuosus von Braga*.' A. Bayot: 'J. van den Gheyn *Album belge de paléographie*' (VII^e-XVI^e siècles). L. Guilloreau: 'Stephens and Capes *The Bishops of Winchester*.' P. Fournier: 'Thaner *Anselmi collectio canonum*.' J. M. Vidal: 'Guiraud *Cartulaire de N.-D. de Prouille*.' (8 pp.) J. B. Goetstouwers: 'A. von Wretschko *Der Traktat des Laurentius de Somercote über die Vornahme von Bischofswahlen*' (1254). A. Cauchie: 'Samaran et Mollat *La fiscalité pontificale en France au XIV^e siècle*.' A. Dumortier: 'Kalkoff *W. Capito im Dienste Erzbischof Albrechts von Mainz*.' P. Richard: 'Friedensburg *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*. X. *Legation des Kardinals Sfondrato*' (1547-8). D. de Lamothe: 'C. de Rochemonteix *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIII^e siècle*.' J. Laenen: 'Terlinden *Guillaume I^{er}, roi des Pays-Bas, et l'Église catholique en Belgique*' (1814-30). J. Forget: 'Granderath *Histoire du Concile du Vatican*, I.'

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Anglican' [secrétaires d'honneur, l'Évêque Montgomery et Mgr. Eugène Stock]. J. L.: 'Confréries ecclésiastiques et Mutualités dans l'Église bulgare.' M. Legendre: 'Coignet *L'Évolution du protestantisme français au XIX^e siècle.*' July. L. Cristiani: 'La Notion d'Église dans Mélancthon.' M. J. et F. Galichet: 'Le Congrès Pan-Anglican.' 'Gennari *Consultations de morale, de droit canonique et de liturgie, I. 2.*' 'Commissio pontificia de re biblica. *De Libri Isaiae indole et auctore.*' Latin text.

Teologisch Tijdschrift (Vol. XLII. No. 4. July 1908. Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgh). H. Oort: 'Mattheüs xi en de Johannes-gemeenten.' H. U. Meyboom: 'Clemens Alexandrinus en de wijsbegeerte.' A. Klaver: 'Vloot- en legerpredikanten.' Reviews. P. A. A. Boeser: 'Schmidt *Der erste Clemensbrief in althoptischer Übersetzung.*' M. T. Houtsma: 'Vollers *Die Weltreligionen in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhange.*' B. D. Eerdmans: 'S. A. Cook *Critical Notes on O. T. History. Saul and David.*'

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Vol. IX. Nos. 4-5. 1908. Copenhagen). J. P. Bang: 'Videnskab og Religion.' M. J. Gjessing: 'Kirkeligt Liv i Norge.' V. Ammundsen: 'Jørgensen *Luthers kamp mod den romersk-katolske semipelagianisme.*' (17 pp.) J. O. Andersen: 'Ammundsen *Den unge Luther.*' (10 pp.) F. Torm: 'Lietzmann *Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen u. Übungen, nos. xvi-xxv.*' No. 5. H. Wellejus: 'Forskellige Hovedopfattelser af Jesu Lignelser.' C. Glarbo: 'Moderne positiv Teologi.' F. Torm: 'Barth *Einleitung in das N. T.*' (7 pp.) P. Tuxen: 'Lehmann *Buddha.*' H. Ussing: 'Sören Kierkegaard *Samlede Voerker.*'

The Bibliotheca Sacra (Vol. LXXVIII. July 1908. Oberlin, Ohio). E. M. Merrins: 'The Plagues of Egypt,' I. Jacob, son of Aaron [High Priest at Shechem]: 'The Samaritan Sabbath.' A. A. Berle: 'Prof. G. F. Moore on Ministerial Training.' W. J. Hutchins: 'The Preacher and the Times.' G. W. Fiske: 'The Expert Minister and his Training of his Laymen.' H. M. Wiener: 'Essays on Pentateuchal Criticism,' I. L. F. Miskovsky: 'The *Unitas Fratrum.*' W. W. Everts: 'Homer and the Higher Critics.' L. C. Warner: 'Progress and Present Status of Trichurch Union.' (Congregational, United Brethren, and Methodist-Protestant denominations of U.S.A.) G. Campbell: 'Evolution and the Miraculous.' Reviews.

The Church Missionary Review (Vol. LIX. Nos. 711-3. July-September 1908. C.M.S.). F. Baylis: 'Modern Egypt. Western Education and Eastern Morals.' Reviews Lord Cromer. G. F. Smith: 'William Carpenter Bompas,' I. (II. August). J. Hind: 'Missions the primary Work of the Church.' F. M. Dennis: 'Iboland, S. Nigeria.' With map. E. Sell: 'A Year in Khammameet and Raghavapuram.' G. F. Smith: 'Christianity in India.' A. Hume-Griffiths: 'The Yezidees, or Devil-worshippers.' 'Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, II.*' (critical). August. C. H. A. Field: 'The Religion of the Pathans.' T. L. Pennell: 'Our N.W. Frontier in India.' With map. E. Sell: 'Movements in Islam.' Bishop of Salisbury: 'The struggle between Islam and Christianity in Africa.' (Sermon.) September. W. Hooper: 'Caste, its Origin and Evils.' W. G. Walshe: 'Christianity in China under the Ming and early Manchu Emperors.' W. Mull: 'A Village

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The East and the West (Vol. VI. No. 23. July 1908. S.P.G.). Bishop of Auckland: 'The Bible and the Schools in New Zealand—God an Extra.' A. A. Blair: 'Should Missionaries in India eat Beef?' W. Deans: 'Modernism and Foreign Missions.' M. J. Burrows: 'Comity of Missions. III. Ceylon.' W. E. S. Holland: 'Mission Hostels in India.' C. W. Howard: 'The Islands of Melanesia.' G. Whitehead: 'The Chins of Burma.' W. A. Challis: 'Swaziland from Within.' H. McNeile: 'A National Church of India.' Reviews. 'D. Kidd *Kafir Socialism and the Dawn of Individualism*.' 'Cody *Memoirs of Bishop Bompas*.' 'Bethune-Baker *Nestorius and His Teaching*.' 'Balleine *History of the Evangelical Party*.' 'C. Sorabji *Between the Twilights—Studies of Indian Women*.'

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